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System of Transliteration

अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	ऋ	ॠ	ऌ	ए	ऐ	ओ	औ
a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	ṛi	ṛī	ḷi	e	ai	o	au

क	ख	ग	घ	ङ	च	छ	ज	झ	ञ
ka	kha	ga	gha	ṅa	cha	chha	ja	jha	ña
ट	ठ	ड	ढ	ण	त	थ	द	ध	न
ṭa	ṭha	ḍa	ḍha	ṇa	ta	tha	da	dha	na
प	फ	ब	भ	म	य	र	ल	व	श
pa	pha	ba	bha	ma	ya	ra	la	va	śa

ष	स	ह	ळ
sha	sa	ha	ḷa

Visarga — ḥ ; Nasalized म् as in संयम — ṁ

Nasalized न् as in मीमांसा — ṅ

PREFACE

The following essay (with the *nom de plume* वाचारम्भणं विकारः) was offered in competition for the Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik Gold Medal of the University of Bombay. It was approved by the Judges with the remark: It deserves to be printed, as it collects together a great deal of interesting historical information. It is now accordingly published with the kind permission of the University of Bombay.

In preparing the essay I have utilised the labours of most of the previous workers in the field, to whose writings I have given constant references in the foot-notes. I also enjoyed the exceptional advantage of having at my disposal the entire Government Manuscripts Library at the Deccan College, Poona, and was in fact, at the time of writing this essay, actually engaged in preparing a Descriptive Catalogue of the grammatical works in that Library.

As the title indicates, it is an essay—a mere tentative attempt—and not a profound treatise; and I have thought it worth while printing it merely because, as far as I know, no work of the kind, covering exactly the field of this essay, has so far appeared. In the 'Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie' there was to appear a work which would have made the writing of this essay superfluous, but apparently nothing has come of it so far.

I have made a few necessary changes in the essay as it was originally submitted, especially in the light of some kind suggestions received from Professor Hari Mahadeva Bhadkamkar of the Wilson College, Bombay, and from Professor Vaijanath Kashinath Rajavade of the Fergusson College, Poona, who were appointed judges for the essay. My old and honoured teacher, Professor K. B. Pathak, had also the goodness to read the essay through and point out certain inaccuracies of fact and statement, for which I am deeply grateful to him. For the most part, however, the

essay remains just as it was written in 1909 with the exception of the Chronological Conspectus and the General Index, without which no published work of this nature could be regarded as complete.

I do not, of course, expect that the essay would be entirely free from mistakes both of omission and of commission. New facts are coming to light every day; and even of facts that have been already known, it is too much to hope—so numerous are the workers in the field and so scattered their writings—that I have taken into consideration all, or even the most important all. I would most thankfully receive, therefore, any corrections or suggestions for improvement. I only hope that the essay contains enough to justify its publication in this present form.

POONA,
November 1914. } S. K. BELVALKAR.

Postscript: Little did I expect, when I wrote the above in November last, that one of the judges for the essay—Professor H. M. Bhadkamkar of the Wilson College, Bombay—would not live to see it in print. But it is the unexpected that has happened. Professor Bhadkamkar took a genuine interest in me and my work, and by writing this *postscript* I wish to keep his name permanently associated with what is—though not the first—yet one of the earliest fruits of my literary activity.

DECCAN COLLEGE, POONA,
15th July 1915. } S. K. BELVALKAR.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DIFFERENT EXISTING

SYSTEMS OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR

1. **Grammatical speculations in India: Their extent and value.**—It would be hardly an exaggeration to say that in no other country has the science of grammar been studied with such a zeal and carried to such a perfection as it has been in India. Even a bare catalogue of the names of grammarians ancient and modern and of such of their works as are still preserved to us can amply bear out the truth of this assertion. On the lowest calulation there are yet current in various parts of India nearly a dozen different schools of Sanskrit grammar, at least three hundred writers in the field including those that are known to us only from quotations, and more than a thousand separate treatises original as well as explanatory. And it is not merely the quantity—for that need not be a source of unalloyed pride to any people—but the quality of the work produced that has won for it a recognition and an honorable mention even at the hands of the rigorously scientific philologists of our own day, who are not ashamed to own their obligations to works and authors of over twenty-five hundred years old.

Early grammatical speculations

2. **Grammatical speculations in the Vedas.**—The earliest speculations of a grammatical nature are to be met with in the later portions of the Ṛigveda itself; for, even if we condemn Patañjali's explanation (Mahābhāshya: Kielhorn, Vol. 1, p. 3) of चत्वारि शृङ्गा by नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपाताः or his explanation (Ibid. p. 4; Ṛigveda viii. 69. 12) of सप्त सिन्धवः by सप्त विभक्तयः as being too subtle for the Vedic

bards,[1] still passages, such as Ṛigveda x. 125 or Taittirīya Saṁhitā vi, 4. 7. 3, already evince the consciousness that the study of the forms of speech is of sufficient importance to be pursued by itself independently of the dealings between men and men which are rendered possible by them. It is not, however, necessary for our purpose to put together all the Vedic passages that have or can be made to have a grammatical significance. Suffice it to say that the available data do not warrant the supposition that the 'Seers of the Mantras' had made any considerable advance in the *science* of grammar. Indeed, it was not their business to do that. To observe the silent or violent workings of Nature and to record in fitting verse the feelings and thoughts awakened by their contemplation was enough to employ all their leisure hours. Philosophy arises only when the harmony of life is disturbed from within (or from without) so that the old child-like faith in the world and its laws becomes no longer possible; and grammar is a species of philosophy.

The study of grammar receives a sudden impetus when one form of speech comes into close contact with another and a different form. Thus, for example, the discovery of Sanskrit by modern Europe has created a revolution in the science of philology, just as, in ancient times, the Roman conquest of Greece and, later, the discovery of Greek after the fall of Constantinople led to equally momentous consequences in the development of thought.— The same result is also produced when in course of time there arise inevitable dialectical peculiarities *within* a language. These are either a consequence of the impact of the different races one of which conquers and dominates over the rest,[2] or they may be due

1 Compare Tantra-vārtika, Benares edition, p. 216.

2 Until the Greeks began to teach their language to the Romans, Greek grammar made little progress.

to a change in the climatic conditions—to the people having migrated from one place to another and modified their expressions and articulations in the course of their journey. Something of this sort must have happened when the ancient Sanskrit diverged into the different forms of Prākrit, and we are probably to explain in the same way the considerable difference that is observable in the language of the Brāhmaṇas when contrasted with that of the ancient Saṁhitās.[1]

3. **Grammatical speculations in the Brāhmaṇas.**—When we come to the Brāhmaṇic speculations on the nature and meaning of the utternnces of the ancient sages, we find that they have already lost any living touch with the old form of the language. Old forms and old words as also old ideas had grown obsolete giving place to newer, less poetic and more practical ones.[2] Since, however, the Sacred Scriptures (the Vedas) were composed in the older form of the language, and since, for various reasons, it was deemed necessary to preserve intact from generation to generation the inherited stock of Vedic poetry, attention came naturally to be focussed upon the peculiarities of that form of the language, and this was the beginning of grammar proper.

The main interest of the Brāhmaṇas, however, was sacerdotal. They busied themselves with the details of the ritual and tried to discover—or invent—a rational, that is to say, a mythological justification for every act of the priest and every element of the sacrifice. If they discussed questions of grammar or phonetics at all, they

1 Dr. Burnell in his essay on the Aindra school of Grammarians notes, "without some contact with *foreign peoples*, and bitter disputes among religious sects at home, such highly developed enquiry into language as Pāṇini's treatise displays is contrary to all experience."

2 Compare the Arctic home in the Vedas, p. 230.

came in mainly by way of illustration, or because no other equally cogent explanation of the Saṁhitā passage in question was at hand. We cannot make much capital out of their stray and half poetic utterances.

4. **Grammatical speculations in allied works.**—It was in the next period that the study of grammar *as a science* was taken in earnest. This was the period when the scattered hymns of the Vedas came to be collected into family-books and elaborate rules were framed for the regulation of the *parishads* or *charaṇas*.[1] To help students in their task there also came into being about the same time various manuals on phonetics,[2] which dealt with letters, accents, quantity, pronunciation, and euphonic rules. In course of time the retentive faculty came to be cultivated to an extent which is without any parallel in the history of the world. A further advance was made by the constitution of the Padapāṭha, commonly ascribed to Śākalya, which resolved the euphonic combinations and gave each word, each member of a compound, each prefix of the verb, as also each suffix or termination of the noun separately. The stock of grammatical notions familiar to this stage of development, though not very large, is already sufficient to indicate the earnestness of the search for truth.

5. **The predecessors of Yāska.**—We are not yet certain when the art of writing came to be invented—or introduced—in Ancient India. It was certainly much earlier than what Max Müller once believed it to be.[3] Whatever that period might be, it must have been prior to the production of the Prātiśākhya literature; and by this we

1 See Max Müller's History of Ancient Indian literature, 2nd edition pp. 128, 187, &c.

2 Cp. Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, vii. 1.

3 History of Ancient Indian Literature, p. 520. Compare on the subject Bühler's contribution to the Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie, especially page 18.

mean not the Prātiśākhyas in their present form—which are post-Pāṇinīya and pre-suppose much of his terminology—but in some earlier form, and under whatever other names they may have been then known.[1] The contributions which these prototypes of our present Prātiśākhyas made to the science of grammar can now, in the absence of any really representative works of that class, be merely guessed at. If the nature and contents of our existing Prātiśākhya literature can safely be made the basis of any inference, we may suppose that these earlier treatises 1. classified the Vedic texts into the four forms of speech known to Yāska ; 2. framed and carefully defined some of the primitive[2] saṃjñās or technical terms ; and 3. possibly also made some more or less crude attempts to reduce the words to their elements and explain the mode of their grammatical formation. The really creative period of this science is just this. Had there been for this period any works extant, they would have shown us Yāska in the making, as Yāska himself, to some extent, shows us Pāṇini in the making. It is a great pity, therefore, that the period should be all blank to us. Since, however, these tentative sallies of the earlier authors were not probably definite enough to constitute a *system*, and since we have here to treat of *systems* of Sanskrit grammar, we must next pass on to Yāska[3], who, although a philologist and not a grammarian as such, can for our purpose be regarded as forming the link between the primitive Prātiśākhya type of spe-

1 Goldstücker, Pāṇini : his place in Sanskrit literature, pp. 183 and ff. ; Reprint of the same by Pāṇini office, pp. 141 and ff.

2 Primitive : those namely that Pāṇini pre-supposes and uses without explaining them. Dr. Burnell would call these the *terms of the Aindra School of Grammarians.*

3 Yāska calls his own work a complement to grammar : व्याकरणस्य कार्त्स्न्यम् ।

culation on the one hand, and the later Pāṇinīya mode of thought on the other.

6. **Yāska's Nirukta: Its date.**—In a memorable passage Yāska himself roughly indicates the course of the development of Vedic studies before his time, and, reflecting the achievements made upto his days in the sciences of grammar and philology, contributes his own quota to the same. The passage has been variously interpreted, but the explanation given below may be found perhaps as acceptable as any other.[1] It mentions three distinct periods of intellectual development corresponding roughly to sections 2–5 above. Unfortunately the time of Yāska is by no means yet certain. It depends for the most part, on the date that is to be assigned to Pāṇini, between whom and this great writer at least a century, if not more, must be supposed to have elapsed in order to account properly for all the advances[2] in the matter

1. साक्षात्कृतधर्माण ऋषयो बभूवुः। — These are the original "Seers of Mantras".

तेऽवरेभ्योऽसाक्षात्कृतधर्मभ्य उपदेशेन मन्त्रान् सम्प्रादुः। — These correspond to the authors of the Brāhmanic speculations; possibly also to the compilers of the family-books.

उपदेशाय ग्लायन्तोऽवरे बिल्मग्रहणायेमं ग्रन्थं समाम्नासिषुः। वेदं च वेदाङ्गानि च॥ — These are the authors of the Padapāṭha, the Nighaṇṭu, and other allied works, including possibly the prototypes of our modern Prātiśākhyas.

2. Thus, for—

	Yāska uses—	while Pāṇini uses—
Causal	कारित	णिजन्त
Frequentative	चर्करीत	यङ्लुगन्त
Desiderative	चिकीर्षित	सन्नन्त
Attribute	व्यञ्जन	विशेषण
Weak termination	निर्बुचिस्थान	No one term exists for these.
Denominative termination	नामकरण	

Similarly Yāska defines (rather derives) सर्वनाम as सर्वाणि नामानि यस्य। सर्वेषु भूतेषु नमति गच्छति वा। सर्वव्यापि। It is often used by him otherwise than as a technical term of grammar. Compare vi. 6. 8, vii. 1. 2, vii. 1. 5, &c. Again,

and wording of the rules of grammar that are to be met with in the Ashṭādhyāyī. We have dealt with the question of Pāṇini's date in another part of this essay, and if that result be accepted, Yāska must be placed about 800 to 700 before Christ.

There are, however, a few facts which seem to militate against the view that Yāska flourished before Pāṇini. The Sūtras of Pāṇini nowhere make any provision for the formation of words like अपार्ण, which occurs in Nirukta (Bib. Ind. edition, Vol. iv. page 258 &c.). Nor did Pāṇini apparently know Yāska's explanation of सूर्या (Ṛigveda x. 85.20) by सूर्यस्य पत्नी. Pāṇini must, therefore, have preceded Yāska; else how can we account for such omissions in a grammarian of the calibre of Pāṇini ? The utter uselessness of these and similar negative arguments can be seen on a closer examination of the instances adduced. To obviate the last of these defects Kātyāyana[1] gives सूर्याद्देवतायां चाप् वक्तव्यः as a vārtika to sūtra iv.1. 48. Kātyāyna must, therefore, have come after Yāska whose work he here presumably utilises. On the contrary, the first omission is not rectified even by Kātyāyana who gives two vārtikas (no. 7 and 8 to vi. 1.89) to explain forms like प्रार्ण and ऋणार्ण but not अपार्ण. This would necessitate the supposition that Yāska came after Kātyāyana. A mode of argumentation which leads to such contradictory conclusions is no safe foundation for

there is a great distance between Yāska's definition of निपातs as उच्चावचेष्वर्थेषु निपतन्ति and his giving the meanings for each individually, and Pāṇini's classification of them into उपसर्ग when joined to verbs, गति if the root develops into a noun, and कर्मप्रवचनीय. Many more similar illustrations could be found.

1. In Kielhorn's edition vol. ii. p. 220, this is given not as a vārtika of Kātyāyana but as a part of the Mahābhāshya. In that case Yāska's explanation of अरण्यानी as अरण्यस्य पत्नी and his non-acquaintance with vārtika 1 to Sūtra iv. 1. 49 may be adduced to prove the point at issue.

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and wording of the rules of grammar that are to be met with in the Ashṭādhyāyī. We have dealt with the question of Pāṇini's date in another part of this essay, and if that result be accepted, Yāska must be placed about 800 to 700 before Christ.

There are, however, a few facts which seem to militate against the view that Yāska flourished before Pāṇini. The Sūtras of Pāṇini nowhere make any provision for the formation of words like अपार्ण, which occurs in Nirukta (Bib. Ind. edition, Vol. iv. page 258 &c.). Nor did Pāṇini apparently know Yāska's explanation of सूर्या (Ṛigveda x. 85.20) by सूर्यस्य पत्नी. Pāṇini must, therefore, have preceded Yāska; else how can we account for such omissions in a grammarian of the calibre of Pāṇini ? The utter uselessness of these and similar negative arguments can be seen on a closer examination of the instances adduced. To obviate the last of these defects Kātyāyana[1] gives सूर्याद्देवतायां चाप् वक्तव्यः as a vārtika to sūtra iv. 1. 48. Kātyāyna must, therefore, have come after Yāska whose work he here presumably utilises. On the contrary, the first omission is not rectified even by Kātyāyana who gives two vārtikas (no. 7 and 8 to vi. 1.89) to explain forms like प्रार्ण and ऋणार्ण but not अपार्ण. This would necessitate the supposition that Yāska came after Kātyāyana. A mode of argumentation which leads to such contradictory conclusions is no safe foundation for

there is a great distance between Yāska's definition of निपातास [illegible] उच्चावचेष्वर्थेषु निपतन्ति and his giving the meanings for each individually, and Pāṇini's classification of them into उपसर्ग when joined to verbs, गति if the root develops into a noun, and कर्मप्रवचनीय. Many more similar illustrations could be found.

1. In Kielhorn's edition vol. ii. p. 220, this is given not as a vārtika of Kātyāyana but as a part of the Mahābhāshya. In that case Yāska's explanation of अरण्यानी as अरण्यस्य पत्नी and his non-acquaintance with vārtika 1 to Sūtra iv. 1. 49 may be adduced to prove the point at issue.

any chronological edifice, especially when the evidence for Yāska's priority to Pāṇini is so overwhelming.

7. **Nature of Yāska's work.**—In form Yāska's work is a running commentrary upon a list of words in five adhyāyas, known as the Nighaṇṭu. The words are all taken from the Veda; the first three adhyāyas arrange them as synonyms, the fourth is a collection of certain difficult words occurring in the Veda, while the last is a list of the names of Vedic deities. Yāska takes these words one by one (in the case of the first three adhyāyas only the more important ones), quotes Vedic passages wherein they are used, and tries to connect them with radical stems and launches into various interesting social and historical discussions in his attempts to trace the later history of these words, always giving references to any conflicting views that may have been held on the subject. Certain general reflections as to the nature and utility of the study of the Vedas, the cosmological functions of the Vedic Gods, and so forth also find their proper place in the work.

That grammatical speculations had sufficiently advanced in the days of Yāska is evidenced even by the list of schools and individual teachers quoted or referred to in the Nirukta,[1] none of whose works have been preserved to us. Yāska already knew, what it required an Aristotle to discover subsequently, viz: the fourfold classification of words, as also the distinction between personal terminations and tense affixes on the one hand, and the primary and secondary nominal affixes on the other. Nay, he definitely formulates the theory that every noun is deriv-

1 These are: आग्रयणः, आग्रायणः, आचार्याः,एके, ऐतिहासिकाः,औदुंबरायणः, औपमन्यवः, और्णवाभः, कात्थक्यः, कौष्टुकिः, गार्ग्यः, गालवः, चर्मशिराः,तैटिकिः,नैदानाः, नैरुक्ताः, परिव्राजकाः, पार्षदानि, मनुः, याज्ञिकाः, पूर्वे याज्ञिकाः, वार्ष्यायणिः, वैय्याकरणाः, शाकटायनः, शाकपूणिः, शाकल्यः, स्थौलाष्ठीविः,हारिद्रुषकम् ॥

ed from a verbal root and meets the various objections raised against it,—a theory on which the whole system of Pāṇini is based, and which is, in fact, the postulate of modern Philology.[1]

8. Yāska's successors.—Many valuable works on grammar subsequent to Yāska's Nirukta but anterior to Pāṇini's Ashṭādhyāyī have been irrevocably lost to us; for, it cannot be maintained with cogency that the extremely artificial and algebraic style of the Ashṭādhyāyī could have been completely evolved by Pāṇini himself in the absence of similar tentative works preceding his. We have got for this the evidence of Pāṇini's own sūtras, which use many technical words and formulas without having previously explained them[2]—an omission which, as indicated by Pāṇini at i.2.53-57, is to be accounted for on the supposition that they were too well-known or already sufficiently dealt with in other works to need any exposition at his hands.

Some of these works must certainly have been in existence long after the time of the Mahābhāshya, since we find many quotations from them in later writers. The chief founders of grammatical schools prior to Pāṇini are, Āpiśali and Kāśakṛitsna (compare Pāṇini vi. 1. 92). A rule of Āpiśali[3] is given by the Kāśikā on vii. 3. 95,

1 Compare Max Müller's History of Ancient Sk. Literature, pp. 161-168.

2 Such as प्रत्यय, प्रथमा, द्वितीया, तृतीया, चतुर्थी, पञ्चमी, षष्ठी, सप्तमी, समास, तत्पुरुष, अव्ययीभाव, बहुव्रीहि, कृत्, तद्धित, &c., occurring respectively in i. 1. 69, ii. 3. 46, ii. 3. 2, ii. 3. 18, ii. 3. 13, ii. 3. 28, ii. 3. 50, ii. 3. 36, ii. 1. 3, ii. 1. 22, ii. 1. 5, ii. 2. 23, iii. 1. 93, iv. 1, 76, and elsewhere. These could not all have been taken from the Prātiśākhya works anterior to Yāska, since some of them appear to be unknown to that author and must have come into vogue since his day. Compare also Pāṇini i. 3. 120, [illegible] [illegible] । where Bhaṭṭoji says, आङिति टासंज्ञा प्राचाम् ।

3 आपिशलास्तु तुरुस्तुशम्यमः सार्वधातुकासु छन्दसीति पठन्ति ।

while elsewhere it gives us the information that the grammar of Kāśakṛitsna consisted of sūtras thrown into three Adhyāyas.[1] Kaiyyaṭa on v. 1. 21 actually gives portions of the text of both these grammarians[2]—and this is about all the information that we possess regarding these two ancient grammarians. To later writers like Bopadeva[3] they are probably little more than mere names.

9. **The so-called Aindra treatises.**—The case stands a little different with Indra or Indragomin. Pāṇini nowhere mentions this name except under the general appelation of 'the easterners'. An oft-quoted passage from the fourth taraṅga of the Kathāsaritsāgara informs us that the school which Pāṇini supplanted was known as the Aindra school, and numbered among its adherents Kātyāyana alias Vararuchi, Vyāḍi, and Indradatta. Hiuen Tsang the Chinese pilgrim, and Tārānātha the Tibetian historian, both relate a similar story, the latter adding that the Chāndra vyākaraṇa agrees with Pāṇini, and the Kālāpa vyākaraṇa with the Aindra. Tārānātha also states that God Kārttikeya revealed the Aindra vyākaraṇa to Sapta-(not Sarva-)varman (compare section 64, below). Further corroborative evidence is furnished by a passage[4] from the Taittirīya-saṁhitā (vii. 4. 7), which speaks of Indra as the first of grammarians. To all this Dr. Burnell

1 Compare the Kāśikā on v. 1. 58, and iv. 2.65 : त्रिकं काशकृत्स्नम् । त्रिकाः काशकृत्स्नाः । Another bit of information about आपिशलि, which I owe to Professor Pathak, is that he changed the root अस् 'to be' to स. Compare अस्ति सकारमातिष्ठते, in the Mahābhāshya on i. 3. 22. Jinendrabuddhi and Śākaṭāyana (i. 4. 38) supply आपिशलिः as the subject of आतिष्ठते ।

2 आपिशलकाशकृत्स्नयोस्त्वग्रन्थ इति वचनादन्यत्र प्रतिषेधाभावः ।

3 Compare, इन्द्रश्चन्द्रः काशकृत्स्नापिशली शाकटायनः । पाणिन्यमरजैनेन्द्रा जयन्त्यष्टादिशाब्दिकाः ॥ from Bopadeva's Mugdhabodha.

4 वाग् वै पराच्यव्याकृताऽवदत् । ते देवा इन्द्रमब्रुवन्निमां नो वाचं व्याकुर्विति । .... । तामिन्द्रो मध्यतोऽवक्रम्य व्याकरोत् ।

further adds that the Tolkappiyam, one of the oldest Tamil grammars, represents itself to be full of the Aindra system, and was read in the *Pāṇḍya King's* assembly and there met with approval. This Tolkappiyam is closely related to Kātantra, to Kachchāyana's Pāli grammar, and to the Prātiśākhyas, all of which are to be regarded as treatises belonging to the Aindra school of grammarians. The conclusion[1] which Dr. Burnell reaches is that the 'Aindra was the oldest school of Sanskrit grammar, and that Aindra treatises were actually known to and quoted by Pāṇini and others, and that Aindra treatises still exist in the Prātiśākhyas, in the Kātantra, and in similar works, though they have been partly recast or corrected.' And again, 'the Aindra treatises belong to a system older than Pāṇini's, though there is perhaps reason to believe that not one of them is, as a whole, older than the grammar of the last.'

That the technical terms used by the so-called Aindra treatises are connected with one another and are, further, simpler and more primitive than those of Pāṇini is quite evident ; and on this ground it is not unlikely that they represent a school of grammarians prior to Pāṇini's. But since, besides the Aindra, we have at least two other schools also older than Pāṇini, it will not do to put down every one of these saṅjñās as belonging to the Aindra school, seeing that we have no information regarding the saṅjñās of the other two. In the present state of our knowledge, the fact that the Aindra school is nowhere quoted by name either in Pāṇini or Mahābhāshya or Kāśikā should point to the conclusion—also endorsed by Keilhorn—that the Aindra school is post-Pāṇiniya in date, though pre-Pāṇiniya in substance. Possibly it may be no other than the Kātantra school

1 Compare his Essay on the Aindra school of grammarians, *passim.*

which belongs to the early centuries of the Christian era.

Any further details regarding the grammatical efforts earlier than Pāṇini it is not possible to give. All that we can do is, following Yāska and on the basis of references occurring in Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, Patañjali, and the earlier Prātiśākhyas and Brāhmaṇas, to frame a tabular statement of the schools and teachers with the tenets peculiar to each. A beginning towards one is made in Dr. Burnell's essay quoted before, where only the names of the teachers —some of them later than Pāṇini—are given.[1]

The School of Panini

10. The School of Pāṇini.— The work which brought to a focus these tentative efforts of the early grammarians[2] and by its accuracy and thoroughness eclipsed all its predecessors, dominating the thoughts of generations of thinkers even to present times, is the Ashṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. It stands—and it will always stand as long as Sanskrit continues to be studied—as a monument at once of encyclopedic research and technical perfection. The work is also interesting in that it is probably the oldest surviv-

1 A few instances are also collected in Indische Studien, iv. p. 76. Compare also History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 160.

2 In his sūtras Pāṇini refers to the Northern and the Eastern schools of grammarians and to the following ten individual authors: आपिशालि, काश्यप, गार्ग्य, गालव, चाक्रवर्मण, भारद्वाज, शाकटायन, शाकल्य, सेनक, and स्फोटायन. It would not be far from the truth to assume that in one way or another Pāṇini's work was an improvement upon those of his predecessors. Some of them may have confined their attention merely to the Vedic and some to the post-Vedic Literature, or, treating of both, must have given less attention to current speech and more to the scriptures. The Vedāṅga spoken of by Yāska must be such a treatise and not the Ashṭādhyāyī.

ing specimen of that type of literary activity which found expression in the aphoristic style.[1]

11. **Pāṇini's date**.—The question about the age of this greatest of grammarians is by no means yet settled, or even on the way of being settled. The late Dr. Peterson was inclined to identify him with his namesake, Pāṇini the poet, quoted in Vallabhadeva's Subhāshitāvali and elsewhere, and to place him 'at a date much later than that ordinarily accepted,' that is, about the beginning of the Christian era.[2] The identification of Pāṇini the grammarian with Pāṇini the poet was also accepted by Pischel, who however assigned to him the date cir. 500 before Christ. The question 'how far Pāṇini will eventually have to be brought down from the date now accepted for him, or how far it may be, on the contrary, advisable to push into remoter antiquity the lyrical poetry of Northern India' is finally left undetermined by Dr. Peterson.[3]

According to this view it would appear that the two well-known references to the ākhyāyikā called Vāsavadattā occurring in the Mahābhāshya (vol. ii, p. 284) are to be taken as chronologically in touch with the celebrated romance of Subandhu, a writer of the seventh century. This will leave not even a century between Patañjali and Bhartṛihari the author of the Vākyapadīya. How in that case we are to account for the vicissitudes in the text of the Mahābhāshya as recorded in the latter work[4] and in the Rājataraṅgiṇī[5] one is at a loss to say. Since the recent discovery of Bhāsa's Svapna-Vāsavadattam, which probably was based upon an earlier epic or ākhyānaka,

1 That the *sūtra-form* was not new in Pāṇini's days is evident from the sūtra v.1.58 : संख्या-याः संज्ञासङ्घसूत्राध्ययनेषु ।

2 See his Report on the search of Sk. Mss. for 1882–83, pp. 39ff.

3 *Introduction to the Subhāshitāvali*, p. 58.

4 Towards the end of Kāṇḍa ii.

5 Compare 1.176 ; See also Indian Antiquary, vol. iv. p. 107.

we are no longer required to connect Patañjali with Subandhu.

Weber and after him Max Müller put Pāṇini down to about 350 B. C., thereby making Pāṇini almost the contemporary of Kātyāyana the author of the vārtikas to Pāṇini's sūtras;[1] and this opinion obtained for a time, until it was assailed by Drs. Goldstücker and Bhandarkar who have succeeded in proving that Pāṇini cannot have flourished later than B. C. 500. Goldstücker went much farther: he maintained that 'within the whole range of Sanskrit literature, so far as it is known to us, only the Saṁhitās of the Ṛik, Sāma, and Krishna-Yajus, and among individual authors only the exegete Yāska preceded Pāṇini, and that the whole bulk of the remaining known literature is posterior to him.'[2] This position in an exaggerated form has been stated at length by Pandit Satyavrata Sāmaśramī, in the introduction to his Nirukta, making Yāska also a successor of Pāṇini. The date he assigns to Pāṇini is cir. 2400 before Christ.

Conclusions of this kind it was once the fashion to brush aside as carrying the starting point of Vedic chronology much farther than there was any warrant for it. Since, however, recent researches into the antiquity of

1 Histoy of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, as quoted by Goldstücker in his note 91, p. 80 (Reprint, p. 60) of Pāṇini, His place &c.

2 Goldstücker, *loc. cit.*, p. 243 (Reprint, p. 187). This view of Goldstücker, however, is not strictly accurate. Pāṇini must have known some form of the Gṛihya and the Dharma sūtras. In his sūtra iv. 4. 71 Pāṇini mentions prohibited places or times for study: अध्यायिन्यदेशकालात्. Patañjali in the Mahābhāshya (vol. ii, p. 386) explains what prohibited places (स्मशान) or times (अमावास्या or चतुर्दशी) are meant. These prohibitions are embodied in works of the Gṛihya or Dharma sūtra type, and Pāṇini must be thinking of some such works existing in his days. I owe this note to Professor Pathak.

the Vedas have done much to throw a doubt over the starting point for Ancient Indian Literature accepted by Professor Max Müller and other writers, the best thing, in the absence of any positive evidence, is a suspension of judgment. In another place (pp. 6-7) we have given reasons for agreeing with Goldstücker in accepting the priority of Yāska over Pāṇini. Perhaps 700 to 600 B. C. would be as near an approximation to Pāṇini's time as, in our presnt state of knowledge, or rather want of knowledge, we are likely to get.

12. The view that Pāṇini cannot be placed before B. C. 350 examined.—The fact that Pāṇini in iv. 1.49 (इन्द्रवरुणभवशर्वरुद्रमृडहिमारण्ययवयवनमातुलाचार्याणामानुक्) mentions Yavanas (and the female formation Yavanānī from the stem) has led most western scholars to put down Pāṇini to a date not earlier than B.C. 350. The underlying assumptions are: i. that 'Yavanas' can designate none but the Ionian Greeks, and ii. that India did not have her knowledge of 'Yavanas' prior to Alexander's invasion, B. C. 327. Now regarding point i. the late Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra in his 'Indo-Aryans' gave ample evidence to prove that for no period of Indian history could we be quite certain that the word Yavana necessarily designated the Ionian Greeks. But even if we agree to wave this consideration for the present, point ii. is by no means a settled fact. The 'v' sound in the word 'Yavana' represents an original digamma (Ϝ) in Greek; and as the digamma was lost as early as B. C. 800, the Sanskrit word 'Yavana' must be at least as old as the ninth century before Christ. The Ionians appear in history long before B.C. 1,000 and it is not at all improbable that the Indians knew them, as well as their neighbouring races,—such as Assyrians (असुर-अस्सुर-असुर्य) Skythians (शक-शकस्थानीय), Medes (मद-मेद-मद्रक), Persians (पारसिक), Parthians (पह्लव), etc.—perhaps centuries before Alexander's invasion. At any rate if Indian troops are

known to have formed part of the army of Darius in the battle of Platææ (B. C. 479), India's knowledge of the Greeks can go back to the middle of the fifth century before Christ. The fact is—and scholars are just beginning to recognise it—that we have been too hasty in con demning the Pauranic accounts of the frontier tribes and races (*e. g.* those in the Vishṇupurāṇa or in the Mahābhārata, Bhīshmaparvan, Chap. xi) as purely imaginative fabrications. We have so far altogether ignored the extensive commerce and interchange of ideas that went on between the Indian Aryans and their brethren beyond the frontiers as far as the Mediterranean—and this long before B. C. 400. So much so that when other independent proofs vouch for the antiquity of an author (in the case of Pāṇini we shall discuss these proofs presently) the burden of proof rests with the person who maintains that some specific reference in that author belongs to a later and not to an earlier time, when, so far as facts go, the reference might just as well be to an earlier period.

Nay, more. In this particular case Pāṇini's reference must certainly belong to the earlier period. Compared with Kātyāyana's knowledge about the Yavanas that of Pāṇini is very slight. Pāṇini did not know that the Yavanas had a script of their own (comp. यवनाल्लिप्याम्, Katyāyana's vārtika 3 to iv. 1.49), or at least in his time there was no current Sanskrit word for that script. Nor was the fact that the Yavanas had a native-place and a kingdom of their own sufficiently known to Sanskrit literature, as is evidenced by Kātyāyana's vārtika कम्बोजादिभ्यो लुग्वचनं चोडाद्यर्थम् *i. e.* चोडकडेरकेरल(शकयवना)द्यर्थम् to iv. 1.175—supposing of course that शक and यवन form a genuine part of the कम्बोजादिगण. Such slight acquaintance with the Yavanas, therefore, as Pāṇini betrays cannot have belonged to a time subsequent to Alexander's invasion.

But there is also independent evidence to prove that Pāṇini lived before Alexander's invasion. The internal evidence which compels us to presuppose at least a couple of hundred years between Patañjali and Kātyāyana, and Kātyāyana and Pāṇini—an evidence which even Vincent Smith finds himself compelled to accept (Early Hist. 3rd. ed., p. 451, note 4)—has been indicated in note 1, page 28 below. The most important of external evidence that has been lately brought forward (by Mr. Vishvanāth Kāshināth Rājavāde in the 'Kesarī' for 30th August 1910) is Pāṇini's mention of the town Sangala (Gr. Sángala, Sk. Sāṅkala) in the sūtra सङ्कलादिभ्यश्च (iv. 2. 75). Pāṇini derives the name of the town from the proper name Saṅkala. Sāṅkala is a city completed by (Prince?) Saṅkala. This city Alexander razed to the ground as a punishment for the stout resistance of its defenders (Vincent Smith, loc. cit., page 75), and Pāṇini could not have thereafter spoken of it in the manner in which he does. Pāṇini, therefore, must have lived before Alexander's invasion.

Another independent evidence is furnished by the sūtra पर्श्वादियौधेयादिभ्योऽणञौ (v. 3.117). Here the Parsus or the Persians (and the Asuras or the Assyrians) are mentioned as an आयुधजीविसंघ or an organization of mercenary fighters, similar to the Greeks of the fourth century B.C., or the Germans of the seventeenth century. The Persians were blotted out as a political power in B. C. 329, and the Assyrians in B. C. 538. Pāṇini's references to these people belong, therefore, probably to a time anterior to these dates.

Lastly, reverting once more to Kātyāyana's vārtika to iv. 1.175, if the word शकः forms a genuine part of the कम्बोजादिगण, it will be necessary to suppose that Pāṇini did not know that the Śakas or Skythians had a country or a kingdom of their own. Now the first King of the

Skythians was Deioces (द्विवौकस्) whose date is cir. 700 B.C., and Pāṇini must have lived before B. C. 700 or at least not long after that date.

It is of course conceded that none of these arguments are decisive taken singly. Alternative suppositions could be made to explain away some of these facts. Thus Pāṇini may conceivably mention the city of Sangala even after its destruction by Alexander. The Persians and the Assyrians might have turned into mercenary soldiers after the loss of their independence. And in the case of the कम्बोजाल्लुक् sūtra, since Patañjali in his gloss on Kātyāyana's vārtika does not mention the Śakas or the Yavanas, the two words may not possibly form a genuine part of Kātyāyana's addition, and consequently no cogent argument could be based on that circumstance,—waving the alternative possibility of Pāṇini having at times made mistakes. Finally, it is not altogether impossible that the sūtras on which our arguments for Pāṇini's antiquity are based, were taken over by Pāṇini bodily from some of his predecessors, just as, contrariwise, the sūtras from which his modernity is inferred (especially the word यवन in sūtra iv. 1.149) were later interpolations. But in that way anything is possible and we would be reduced to speechlessness.

The upshot of all this is that there is nothing in Pāṇini's Ashṭādhyāyī that is inconsistent with his having flourished in the seventh century B. C., and this negative conclusion is all that I am content to reach for the present, leaving the burden of proof with those who wish to maintain the contrary.

13. Known facts about Pāṇini's life.—As differing from himself Pāṇini mentions (v. 3. 80, vi. 2. 74, etc.) a school of Eastern grammarians, and in later literature he is also known by the name Śālāturīya[1] which is probably derived

1 शालातुरीयशकटाङ्गजचन्द्रगोमी &c, from गणरत्नमहोदधि stanza 2.

from his native place. Cunningham has identified Śālātura with the present Lahaur in the Yusufzai valley. In the days of Hiuen Tsang the valley was known as Udyāna and Śālātura was a prosperous town. To-day it is an obscure deserted village in the North-western Frontier Province, near Attock. In his Mahābhāshya[1] Patañjali gives another bit of biographical information about Pāṇini whom he calles दाक्षीपुत्र. Dākshī then was Pāṇini's mother. The Kathāsaritsāgara (taraṅga 4) makes Pāṇini a contemporary of Kātyāyana and Vyāḍi and Indradatta, along with whom he studied at the house of उपाध्याय वर्ष. Not succeeding in his studies Pāṇini practised penance and received from God Śiva the fourteen *pratyāhāra* sūtras. The story about his death from a tiger[2] as recorded in Pañchatantra, if based on fact, may or may not refer to our Pāṇini. And this is about all that we know of Pāṇini's personality.

14. Character of Pāṇini's work.—Pāṇini's work consists of nearly four thousand sūtras thrown into eight adhyāyas of four pādas each : hence its name Ashṭādhyāyī. The text of the sūtras has come down to us almost intact. A doubt exists as to the genuineness of only five[3] of these sūtras, and that is because they are given in the Mahābhāshya as vārtikas to the sūtras just preceding them. When we say that the text has been preserved intact, it is not meant that it is exactly as we find it in any of our current editions. The late Dr. Kielhorn drew attention[4] to the

1 सर्वे सर्वपदादेशा दाक्षीपुत्रस्य पाणिनेः। Kielhorn's ed. vol. i. p. 75.

2 सिंहो व्याकरणस्य कर्तुरहरत् प्राणान् प्रियान् पाणिनेः। Tantra ii, stanza 33.

3 Namely, two between iv. 3.131 and 132 and v. 1.36, vi. 1.62, and vi. 1.100,—the last three being given in the Mahābhāshya as vārtikas to the sūtras immediately preceding. The tendency to regard as sūtra what is given as vārtika, and *vice versa*, has created some confusion in the exact enumeration of the sūtras. The whole matter needs to be critically studied. Compare Goldstücker page 29 (Reprint, p. 21), note 28.

4 Indian Antiquary, volume xvi, page 179.

fact that the text of the sūtras has not received from the editors all the care that is necessary. All that we mean is that with sufficient pains we can restore from the vārtikas and the Mahābhāshya the exact words as they were used by Pāṇini himself. Changes have been suggested in more than one place by more than one writer, but they were not actually made until after the times of Chandragomin, the Kāśikākāras, and subsequent writers.

Pāṇini has discussed his entire subject in a manner which is very simple in outline, could we but once grasp it, but which has proved very complex in execution. We may conceive of it in some such way as the following.

Analysing language—and this is what vyākaraṇa literally means—the first element we reach is a sentence, which again consists of a verb in the various tenses and moods, and a number of substantives in case-relations to each other. [The indeclinables we do not count for the present ; they are put in towards the end of 1.4.] Now the forms of verbs that we meet in sentences seem to be made up of an original root-stem and a number of pratyayas or endings, and it is these endings that give the verbs their several modal and temporal significances. These endings, we further notice, group themselves into two sets, and some roots take invariably only one of them, others both, while a number of others change from one to the other under certain circumstances. At the outset then, and to get rid of extra complexity, we dispose of these so-called Atmane-pada and Parasmai-pada prakriyās (i. 3).

Turning *pari passu* to the other element of the sentence, having defined a case-relation (i. 4), we notice that there are often in a sentence sustantives without any case termination at all. We explain these as the members of a whole which we technically call a samāsa or a compound. The formation and the varieties of these must

first be explained (ii. 1 and 2), before we actually treat of the kārakas or case-relations (ii. 3).

Taking up the verbs where we left them, we next, after a few preliminary definitions and other cognate matters (ii. 4 end), deal at length with the formation and the uses of the various tenses and moods; and, while we are still on the subject, we explain what are usually known as verbal derivatives, that is to say, those elements of sentences which, although by reason of their case-endings they may seem to belong to the category of substantives, do yet bear a very close affinity in meaning and formation to the root stems from which they are derived (iii. 1–4).

Now we are free to concentrate ourselves on the noun-element of the sentence. The Nairuktas or Etymologists seem to assert that all these nouns are derived from the root-stems, which were the ultimate factors that we reached in our examination of the verb-element of the sentence. Let us examine this theory.

To simplify matters we must, in the first place, dispose of a large number of nouns which are derived from other nouns by the addition of the so-called taddhita affixes (iv.1.76—v.4). Then it is that we reach the substantive divested of all external wrappings. But may not there be some changes *in the very body* of the nouns which we can explain? It is only when we have done that (vi.4—vii.4) that we are at liberty to style the residual as 'अव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि,'—unless, of course, we intend to step outside the rôle of a mere grammarian, as distinguished from a philologist, and try to trace even these back to some more primitive verb-stems. Pāṇini has made his contribution to philology in the form of the Uṇādi-sūtras (see below, § 16).

This gives us the complete programme of the Ashṭādhyāyī, and if Pāṇini seems to depart from this in places

it is more for convenience of treatment than for anything else. He begins, as was quite appropriate, with a few definitions and canons of interpretation (i. 1 and 2), and he always takes care to introduce such definitions wherever they are required. Some minor topics usually found included in systematic treatises on grammar, such as the Svara-prakaraṇa (vi. 2) or the Strī-pratyayas, Pāṇini has attempted to put into the places where they would most fit in, the only prominent exception to the above rule being the Sandhi-prakaraṇa, which may conceivably have as well been placed elsewhere than where it occurs (vi, 1 and viii. 2–4), and which in any case need not have been cut into two halves separated from one another by the whole matter of nearly two chapters. His system of pratyāhāras and his anxiety to secure a maximum of brevity are perhaps responsible for this lapse in regular logical sequence. But barring these paltry exceptions there is no doubt that Pāṇini has succeeded remarkably well in welding the whole incongruous mass of grammatical matter into a regular and a consistent whole.[1]

15. Technical devices used by Pāṇini.—The difficulty in understanding Pāṇini comes from the very circumstance which Pāṇini himself perhaps considered as his real advance over all his predecessors, namely his attempt to economise expression where conceivably he could do so

1 I do not wish to conceal the fact that the above topical scheme for the whole of the Ashṭādhyāyī will be found wanting, if tried in details. It would seem as if Pāṇini was working alternately upon the two main aspects of his problem: the nouns and the verbs; and the present arrangement of the sūtras in the Ashṭādhyāyī is the result of attempting to dovetail the two into a coherent whole, involving in the process many an addition and omission and transposition. It may even be that some sections of the sūtras are post-Pāṇinīya interpolations, just as, contrariwise, other sections of the sūtras Pāṇini may have bodily taken over from some earlier

without being misunderstood. Why Pāṇini should have elected to strain all his nerves to bring about a result which a student of grammar is often likely to regard as the curse of his lot is more than what we can say. His object may have been to give his students aids to memory, or the sūtra-style may have arisen, as suggested by Goldstücker, in the scarcity of the material for writing. In any case we have reasons to assume that the sūtras from the earliest times were accompanied by a traditional explanation of them.

Let us for a moment dwell a little longer on this point and note the various means whereby Pāṇini attempted to secure terseness and brevity of expression. The foremost amongst the devices used was of course that of the pratyāhāras or elliptical statements, and of the anubandhas or significant endings. The first was effected by means of the fourteen Śiva-sūtras, which, according to tradition, were revealed to him by God Śiva himself by sounding his tabor. As to the second, although the anubandhas used by Pāṇini are peculiar to himself, the device does not appear to have been his invention. The practice already existed, and Pāṇini only utilised it to its utmost limits.[1]

The formation of gaṇas, by which are meant lists of words which undergo similar grammatical changes, also tended towards the same result. Some of these gaṇas are complete and some ākṛiti-gaṇas, that is to say, gaṇas which do not exhaustively enumerate all the words of a

grammars. But for the intrinsic difficulty of the task and for the fact that we have no extant authority earlier than the Mahābhāshya, which knows the Ashṭādhyāyī in practically the same form in which we have it now,—here would be a splendid problem in textual criticism.

1 Compare Mahābhāshya on vii. 1. 18 : अथवा पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशोऽयम् । पूर्वसूत्रेषु येऽनुबन्धा न तैरिहेत्कार्याणि क्रियन्ते ।

class, but rather give merely a few leading types. Pāṇini in his sūtras gives only the first word of a gaṇa and they have hence been considerably tampered with since his times. So, although we cannot be certain whether any one word now found in the Gaṇapāṭha existed in Pāṇini's day, still the bulk of our present Gaṇapāṭha may safely be considered as coming from the hands of the grammarian himself.

The next device to secure brevity was the invention of peculiar technical symbols such as घ, षष्, लुक्, श्लु, लुप् &c. Some of these may have been known to Pāṇini from his predecessors, while others were probably of his own creation. Patañjali distinctly tells us that टि, घु and भ were known to him already.[1]

In the framing of the sūtras Pāṇini always scrupulously omitted all such words as may be conveniently supplied from sense or from preceding sūtras. The technical name for this process is anuvṛitti, and to secure it he has made some of his sūtras adhikāra-sūtras,[2] that is to say, sūtras which have to be repeated, wholly or in part, each time any of the sūtras dominated by it are to be interpreted. Lastly, in portions of the Ashṭadhyāyī he has so arranged the sūtras that where two sūtras appear equally applicable, that which comes earlier in the order of the Ashṭādhyāyī must obtain precedence over the one which comes later.[3]

1 Mahābhāshya on i. 2. 53, and Kaiyyaṭa in the same place.

2 Pāṇini shows that a particular sūtra is an adhikāra sūtra by i. the word प्राक् followed by a word in the ablative case occurring in a subsequent sūtra to which the adhikāra is to continue ; as in i. 4. 56; 2. स्वरितेन—*e. g.* i. 2.48, where स्त्रि has it; 3. giving a numerical value to some mute letter added to the sūtra ; *e. g.* इ (=2) is supposed to be added to v. 1.30 to show the extent of the adhikāra ; and 4. व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिः।

3 Pāṇini viii. 2.1—पूर्वत्राऽसिद्धम्।

There is yet one more device serving the same end which remains to be mentioned and of which so much was made in later grammatical speculations: namely, the use of the paribhāshās or canons of interpretation. Some of them are enunciated by Pāṇini himself, but a larger number he found already current in his day, and so used them tacitly, and the task reserved for later grammarians was to discover what facts in Pāṇini's sūtras imply the use of what particular paribhāshās.[1]

16. Treatises accessory to Pāṇini's Ashṭādhyāyī.— In addition to the Ashṭādhyāyī, Pāṇini put together a Dhātupāṭha or list of roots, a Gaṇapāṭha or list of words which behave alike grammatically, and Uṇādi-sūtras in some form or other. Regarding the first, Pāṇini mentions in the sūtras themselves all the ten classes and even some of their sub-divisions just as they occur in the Dhātupāṭha.[2] The anubandhas of the Dhātupāṭha, further, have the same significance[3] as those of the Ashṭādhyāyī. These facts tend to establish Pāṇini's authorship of the Dhātupāṭha. We have already spoken (p. 23 above) about the Gaṇapāṭha, which also in the main belongs to Pāṇini.

The question as to the authorship of the Uṇādi-sūtras cannot be so easily settled. They are commonly supposed to be the work of Śākaṭāyana on the basis of statements found in the Nirukta[4] and the Mahābhāshya,[5] according to which Śākaṭāyana agreed with the नैरुक्तसमय in deriving

1 For the distinction between the परिभाषासूत्र and the ज्ञापकसूत्र and the whole question of Pāṇini's use of paribhāshās see Goldstücker, pp. 106–118 (Reprint, pp. 81–90).

2 Compare i. 3. 1 ; ii. 4. 72 and 75 ; iii. 1. 25, 55, 69, 73, 77, 78, 79, 81; iii. 3. 104; vi. 1.15 ; vii. 1. 59 ; vii. 2. 45 ; &c.

3 Westergaard's Radices Linguæ Sanscritæ, pp. 342, 343.

4 Nirukta i. 4. 1 : नामान्याख्यातजानीति शाकटायनो नैरुक्तसमयश्च ।

5 Kielhorn, vol. ii. p. 131 : नाम च धातुजमाह निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शकटस्य च तोकम् ।

all nouns from roots. Since, however, no work of Śākaṭāyana has come down to us, and since the Śabdānuśāsana which now passes under his name is a comparatively late production (see below, § 52), we cannot say whether this ancient Śākaṭāyana left behind him any work in justification of the views which he doubtless held.

On the other hand the Uṇādi-sūtras exhibit unmistakable marks of Pāṇini's system. They use sañjñās such as ह्रस्व, दीर्घ, प्लुत, उदात्त, उपधा, लोप, संप्रसारण, and अभ्यास in the same sense in which Pāṇini uses them. The anubandhas of the Uṇādis are also similar to Pāṇini's. This raises a strong presumption that the Uṇādi-sūtras are the work of Pāṇini himself; and it is further corroborated by the fact that Kātyāyana in more than one place takes objection to the technical application of a rule in the Ashṭādhyāyī urging that it does not hold good in the case of particular Uṇādi-sūtras—an objection which could not have been urged unless Kātyāyana regarded Pāṇini to be the author of the Uṇādis; for, Pāṇini was not to be expected to frame rules that would hold good in other people's works.[1] There is no reason why we should not accept this conclusion.

We cannot, however, assign all the Uṇādi-sūtras to Pāṇini's authorship, seeing that in some places their teaching runs counter to the Ashṭādhyāyī.[2] The probable view, as suggested by Goldstücker,[3] is that the Uṇādi list was first drawn up by Pāṇini, but that it was afterwards modified or corrected by Kātyāyana. The extent of the changes introduced by the author of the Vārtikas must

1 Examples are vii. 3. 50, vii. 4. 13, viii. 2. 78, and viii. 3. 59. In most of these cases Kātyāyana has the remark उणादीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः or words to this effect. Patañjali's defence of Pāṇini is throughout grounded on the fact that उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि।

2 Thus, Uṇādi-sūtra iv. 226 goes against Pāṇini vi. 2. 139.

3 Pāṇini, his place &c., pp. 170 (Reprint, 130) and 181 (Reprint, 139).

have been so great as to credit him, in popular tradition, with their sole authorship. Thus Vimalasarasvati,[1] a writer not later than the fourteenth century A. D., and Durgasiṁha[2] who belongs to the early centuries of the Christian era, both assign the authorship of the Uṇādi-sūtras to Vararuchi alias Kātyāyana. The poet Māgha, however, seems to look upon the Uṇādis as belonging to Pāṇini,[3] though his words are not quite explicit.

The other works appended to Pāṇini's system probably do not come from him. The Phiṭ-sūtras are, by unanimous testimony, the work of Śāntanavāchārya, a writer much later than Pāṇini.[4] The Śikshā bears on the face of it the stamp of moderness, notwithstanding the fact that a verse from it has found its way into the Mahābhāshya;[5] and the same is true of the Liṅgānuśāsana. Regarding the Paribhāshās, in addition to those given by Pāṇini in his Ashṭādhyāyī there may have been others current in Pāṇini's time and tacitly employed by him; but no ancient collection of them has come down to us. The Paribhāshās are usually assigned to the authorship of Vyāḍi who comes between Pāṇini and Patañjali.

1 In the रूपमाला, the India Office Ms. of which is dated 1381 A. D., we find: उणादिकृत्प्रकरणाय वररुचिना पृथगेव सूत्राणि प्रणीतानि । तद्यथा । कृवापाजि &c.

2 He begins his com. on the कृत् section of the Kātantra with the verse: वृक्षादिवदमी रूढाः कृतिना न कृताः कृतः । कात्यायनेन ते सृष्टा विबुद्धिप्रतिबुद्धये ॥ The kṛits in this school also include the Uṇādis, as will be seen later.

3 Śiśupālavadha xix. 75, and Mallinātha's commentary upon the same.

4 Compare भट्टोजिभट्ट on फिट्सूत्र ii. 21, where he remarks—एवं फिट्सूत्राणि पाणिन्यपेक्षया आधुनिककर्तृकाणीति परत्वं बोध्यम् ।

5 Mahābhāshya, vol. i. p. 2—दुष्टः शब्दः &c. = शिक्षा, stanza 52—मन्त्रो हीनः &c. This stanza, however, forms a genuine part of the Mahābhāshya, seeing that it is commented upon by भर्तृहरि in his महाभाष्यटीका, Kielhorn, vol. ii, preface, p. 13, and is quoted by कुमारिल in the Tantravārtika, Benares ed., p. 233.

Between Pāṇini and the next great grammarian, Kātyāyana, came many authors, who attempted, more or less successfully, to emend or justify Pāṇini's rules, and some of the metrical vārtikas found in the Mahābhāshya probably belong to these predecessors of Kātyāyana. We must needs assume this, unless we are ready to suppose that the considerable interval of time[1] that exists between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana was altogether barren of grammatical speculations. Whoever these predecessors were, as our knowledge about their works is next to nothing, we must now pass on to Kātyāyana himself.

17. Kātyāyana: His date.—The Kathāsaritsāgara makes Kātyāyana the contemporary of Pāṇini, or more accurately, the senior of the two; and had not this tradition been to this extent accepted by so great an authority as Max Müller, we might have explained this on the analogy of a row of columns seen in perspective, where the columns which are farthest from us look nearest to each other, for the simple reason that we cannot discern any marks in the interspaces. We must be prepared however to give up this view and presuppose between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana that much time which the nature of the changes in the forms of language above indicated will reasonably require; and unless we assume that language and customs were in an extraordinarily volatile condition in ancient times,

1 Goldstücker proves this by showing that 1. grammatical forms current in Pāṇini's time are obsolute in that of Kātyāyana. 2. So also the meanings of words. 3. Words acquire in Kātyāyana's time significances which they had not in Pāṇini's. 4. Literature known to Kātyāyana was unknown to Pāṇini. 5. Writers contemporary with or little separated in time from Pāṇini are looked upon by Kātyāyana as very ancient, e.g. Yājñyavalkya; on his last point the Kāśikā remarks: याज्ञवल्क्यादयो हि न चिरकाला इत्याख्यानेषु वार्ता. For fuller particulars see Goldstücker on Pāṇini, pp. 122-157 (Reprint, pp. 94-120).

about two to three centuries would not by any means be too great an interval that we can suppose to have elapsed between them. In the present state of our knowledge we cannot therefore, unfortunately, arrive at a greater approximation than 500-350 B. C., nearer to the latter limit if the relation of Kātyāyana with the Nandas mentioned in Kathāsaritsāgara has any basis in fact.

18. **Nature of Kātyāyana's work.**—Kātyāyana's work, the vārtikas, are meant to correct, modify, or supplement the rules of Pāṇini wherever they were or had become partially or totally inapplicable. There are two works[1] of his which aim at this object. The earlier[2] is the Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya, a work dealing with the grammar and orthography of the Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā. Being limited by the nature of his subject to Vedic forms of language only, Kātyāyana has herein given his criticisms on such of the sūtras of Pāṇini as fell within his province. Taking up the suggestion which dawned upon him probably in the course of his Prātiśākhya, Kātyāyana next subjected Pāṇini's Ashṭādhyāyī to a searching criticism. Since here his object was not to explain Pāṇini but find faults in his grammar, he has left unnoticed many sūtras that to him appeared valid. Of the nearly 4,000 sūtras Kātyāyana

1 Kātyāyana is credited with the authorship of a third work in sūtra style, the Kātyāyana Śrauta sūtras (published in the Chaukhamba Sanskrit series), but it has nothing to do with grammar. It might have given Kātyāyana practice in writing sūtras, but that is all.

2 That the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya is posterior to and based upon Pāṇini is clear from the fact i. that many of the sūtras there given are indentical with those of Pāṇini. ii. The pratyāhāras and anubandhas are in most cases those of Pāṇini. iii. Where there are changes they are improvements upon Pāṇini, such improvements as Kātyāyana later embodied with occasional changes for the better in his vārtikās. See Goldstücker, Pāṇini, pp. 199 (Reprint, pp. 153) and the following.

noticed over 1,500 in about 4,000 vārtikas. We must add to these the considerable number of cases where Kātyāyana has criticised Pāṇini's rules in his Prātiśākhya. Some of these criticisms he repeats as vārtikas, generally saying there what he had to say in a more correct form.[1]

Kātyāyana has not merely stated his doubts and objections in regard to some of Pāṇini's rules, but in most cases has shown how they can be solved or removed.[2] At the same time he always takes care to prove his propositions, and when suggesting an alternative course, he always tells us that he does so. Notwithstanding this there are, according to Patañjali's showing, a good many cases where his criticisms are misplaced, or are the result of misunderstanding Pāṇini.

Some of the vārtikas are written in prose, while others are thrown into a metrical form. In a vast number of cases Kātyāyana has clearly indicated the rules of Pāṇini to which his remarks refer by repeating the sūtras *verbatim*,[3] or with slight changes,[4] or by taking its most important[5] or introductory[6] word. Cross references to his own vārtikas he gives by उक्तं शेषे, उक्तं वा, or उक्तं पूर्वेण.[7]

Kātyāyana, in that he meant to write a criticism on Pāṇini was compelled to adhere to the latter's terminology. Notwithstanding this fact he has used स्वर for अच्,

1 For Pāṇini's—	Kātyāyana in the Prātiśākhya has—
अदर्शनं लोपः १-१-६०	वर्णस्याऽदर्शनं लोपः १-१४१
तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य १-१-६७	तस्मादित्युत्तरस्यादेः १-३५
मुखनासिकावचनोऽनुनासिकः १-१-८	मुखानुनासिकाकरणोऽनुनासिकः १-७५

2 Usually by phrases such as उक्तं वा. Compare Indian Antiquary, volume v, Note 2 on the Mahābhāshya, where Kielhorn discusses the whole subject.

3 Vārtika 1 to sūtra ii. 1. 33;

4 Vārtika 1 to sūtra iii. 1. 84;

5 Vārtika 1 to sūtra v. 2. 47;

6 Vārtika 1 to sūtra vi. 4. 14;

7 Vārtika 2 to sūtra iii. 4. 79;
—to give but one instance of each.

व्यञ्जन for हल्, समानाक्षर for अक्, भवन्ती and अद्यतनी for लट् and लुङ्. This fact, together with the statement in the Kathāsaritsāgara[1] to the effect that he was a follower of the Aindra school, makes it probable that he belonged to a school, of grammar different from Pāṇini's. Patañjali distinctly calls him a 'Southerner'.[2]

19. **Vārtikakāras before and after Kātyāyana.**—As observed before (p. 28), Kātyāyana had several predecessors from whose works he may have taken many suggestions. In his Prātiśākhya he refers to Śākaṭāyana[3] and Śākalya,[4] names alreadyquoted by Pāṇini; while in the vārtikas he refers by name to Vājapyāyana,[5] Vyāḍi,[6] and Paushkarasādi,[7] and designates a number of others under the general appelation of एके, केचित्, and so forth.[8] Some of these latter must have been scholars who, like Kātyāyana himself, subjected the wording of the sūtras of Pāṇini to a critical examination. Vyāḍi we know, was the author of an extensive work called Saṅgraha, referred to in the Mahābhāshya[9] which is in fact based upon it.

Kātyāyana was followed in his task by a vast number of writers. The names of some of these are preserved for us by Patañjali.[10] To that list we must add the author or authors of the metrical vārtikas(over 250) that are quoted in the Mahābāshya. Some of these belong to Patañjali himself, others probably to Kātyāyana, while still others, to either the predecessors or successors of Kātyāyana.[11] That

1 Taraṅga iv. and elsewhere : तेन प्रणष्टमैन्द्रं तदस्मद्व्याकरणं भुवि ।

2 Mahābhāshya, vol. 1, p 8, line 2: प्रियतद्धिता दाक्षिणात्याः ।

3 iii. 8 : प्रत्ययसवर्णे मुदि शाकटायनः ।

4 iii. [illegible] : अविकारं शाकल्यः शषसेषु ।

5 Vārtika 35 to i. 2. 64.

6 Vārtika 45 to i. 2. 64.

7 Vārtika 3 to viii. 4. 48.

8 Vārtika 4 to ii. 1. 1, &c.

9 Vol. i. p. 6, line 2; The Vākyapadīya describes the Mahābhāshya as सङ्ग्रहप्रतिकञ्चुक.

10 Namely, भारद्वाजीय, सौनाग, क्रोष्टवाडव, वाडव, सौर्यभगवत् and कुणि.

11 The question as to the authorship of these श्लोकवार्तिकs is discussed in the Indian Antiquary vol. v, Note 4 on the Mahābhāshya.

some of them at least presuppose Kātyāyana is proved by kārikā 1 on Pāṇini iii. 2.118, which quotes one of his vārtikas. Unfortunately none of these successors of Kātyāyana are known to us otherwise than through quotations made by Patañjali in his Mahābhāshya. We must therefore next pass on to Patañjali, with whom ends the first period in the history of the Pāṇinīya school.

20. **Patanjali: His date and personal history.**—The date of Patañjali the author of the Mahābhāshya is not subject to as vague a guess-work as that of Kātyāyana or Pāṇini. At one time scholars were inclined to make him a contemporary of Christ, but Dr. Bhandarkar has fought through the pages of the Indian Antiquary for an earlier date; and it has been now accepted by scholars all round, and formed, in fact, until the recent discovery of the Kauṭilīya, the one definite landmark in the history of ancient Indian Literature, by a reference to which the dates of Patañjali's predecessors and successors could be approximately determined. The main arguments for assigning him to 150 B. C. are these: i. The instance इह पुष्यमित्रं याजयामः in such a context that the event must have occurred within the lifetime of Patañjali. ii. Similarly the instances अरुणद्यवनः साकेतं and अरुणद्यवनो मध्यमिकाम्, which refer to a siege by Menander. iii. As a collateral evidence, the mention of a financial expedient of the Mauryas.[1]

Regarding the personal history of Patañjali very little is known. He was a contemporary of Pushpamitra and probably much honoured by him for his learning. It is usual to suppose that the epithets Gonardīya and Goṇikāputra used in the Mahābhāshya[2] are his own other names

1 The references are: Indian Antiquary i. 299–302; ii. 57, 69, 94, 206–10, 238, and 362; xv. 80–84; xvi. 156, 172; and Goldstücker, pp. 228–38 (Reprint, pp. 175–183).

2 Vol. i. pp. 78, 91, 336, &c,

derived from his native place and the name of his mother, but it has been shown by Rājendralāl Mitra[1] and Dr. Kielhorn[2] that they are distinct authors, and as such they are quoted by so early a writer as Vātsyāyana the author of the Kāma-sūtra.[3] The best account of Patañjali's time, if not of his person, is to be found in the Mahābhāshya itself; and a detailed exposition of the religious, historical, geographical, social, and literary data as resulting from the contents of that work is to be found in the Indische Studien, xiii. pp. 293–502.

We have stated that Patañjali was not the first to deal with Kātyāyana in the same way in which the latter dealt with Pāṇini. Patañjali was perhaps the most successful if not also the last of the number. Besides giving his *ishṭis* (desiderata) on Pāṇini's sūtras, wherever Kātyāyana had omitted to give vārtikas, his chief aim was to vindicate Pāṇini against the often unmerited attacks of Kātyāyana; and in this he has achieved a remarkable success, although in some places he overdoes his defence and becomes decidedly unfair to Kātyāyana. The style of his work is unparalleled in the whole range of Sanskrit Literature, only the Śārīra-bhāshya of Śaṅkara being worthy of a mention by its side.

Regarding the text of the Mahābhāshya the traditions recorded in the Rājataraṅgiṇī[4] and in the Vākyapadīya[5] state that it had become so hopelessly corrupt in the time of king Abhimanyu of Kāśmīr that only one authentic Ms. of it existed throughout India, from which all subsequent copies of it have been derived. The work, like

1 Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. lii, p. 269.

2 Indian Antiquary xiv, p. 40.

3 See Kāma-sūtra, p. 67 (Kāvyamālā edition).—According to घोटकमुख the नायिकाs are divided into four classes, while गोनर्दीय divides them into eight.

4 Vide note 5 on p. 13 above.

5 Kāṇḍa ii, stanzas 484–90.

Pāṇini's Ashṭādhyāyī, is divided into eight adhyāyas of four pādas each, each pāda being further subdivided into from one to nine āhnikas. The Mahābhāshya does not notice all the sūtras of Pāṇini, but only such as were noticed by Kātyāyana, as also such others as Patañjali himself considered incomplete and capable of improvement. Whether the remaining were likewise commented upon by Patañjali or not is more than what we can say.[1]

21. Patañjali's Mahābhāshya as marking the end of the first period in the history of the Pāṇinīya school.—Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali are traditionally known as the "three sages," *muni-trayam*, who gave the law to the science of grammar. Each took for his study the whole field of the living language, and the contribution made by each to the stock of inherited knowledge and ideas is quite considerable. Patañjali's Mahābhāshya for a time marked the highest point in the development of the science of grammar. So far as grammatical speculations go, the next three or four centuries—which coincided with the bloom of the classical Prākrit literature and which also witnessed the Scythian invasions on a large scale—are a perfect blank to us; and our next leap from Patañjali should be to Chandragomin, the founder of the Chāndra school.

22. Chandragomin and his work.—Chandragomin[2] was a close student of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali, and for his work he utilized all their labours, trying in several places, in the light of the changes that had come over

1 A fanciful explanation of the fact that some of Pāṇini's sūtras are not to be found in the Mahābhāshya is given in the Pātañjala-charita (Kāvyamālā, No. 51), where it is said that some of the leaves of the originally complete copy of the Mahābhāshya were blown away by the wind and others got disarranged. Another account makes a monkey वटदलचयग्रासलोलः responsible for the accident.

2 For a more detailed account of him see §§ 42 and following.

Sanskrit since the days of the author of the Mahābhāshya to improve upon them in the form as well as the matter of their sūtras and vārtikas and ishṭis. Chandragomin was a Bauddha, and one of his objects in writing a new grammar must have been to supply, for the benefit of members of his Church, a grammar that would be free from the traditional Brahmanical element. The more orthodox grammarians, however, were not willing to accept his innovations. They accordingly tried to invent new maxims of interpretation, tending to show, after a very diligent analysis of the works of the three great sages, that such defects as Chandragomin and others tried to find in the Pāṇinīya grammar were in it already implicitly provided for. This procedure was no doubt unhistorical, but so was that of Kātyāyana or of Patañjali. As yet we cannot fix upon any great leading names,[1] but the traditional elaboration of the system of jñāpakas and Paribhāshās must be referred to the time somewhere between 470 (the date of Chandragomin) and 650 (the date of one of the authors of the Kāśikā.

23 *The Kāśikā of Jayāditya and Vāmana.* Itsing, the Chinese pilgrim, speaks of Jayāditya of Kāśmīr as the author of a grammatical work called vṛtti-sūtra, which it is usual to identify with the Kāśikā, a joint work of Jayāditya and Vāmana. Itsing tells us that Jayāditya died about A. D. 660 ; and if the above identification is correct,[2] this gives us the date of the Kāśikā.

1 Unless it be those of वैजि, सौभव, and हर्यक्ष mentioned in the Vākyapadīya, Kāṇḍa second, stanza 487.

2 Itsing's account of the वृत्तिसूत्र by जयादित्य may not after all refer to the काशिका. He speaks of a com. on the वृत्तिसूत्र by Patañjali and writes as if जयादित्य completed the वृत्ति himself. Even so, however, we cannot bring the Kāśikā any earlier than 650 A. D., seeing that on iv. 3. 88 it mentions the Vākyapadīya by name. Jayāditya then appears to be

The Kāśikā was once believed to be the work of one author variously called Vāmana, Jayāditya, or Vāmana-Jayāditya. It has now been found out that they are two distinct persons. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkshita clearly distinguishes between their views,[1] and the concurrent testimony of Mss. from all parts of India assigns to Jayāditya the authorship of the first five chapters of it, while the last three belong to Vāmana, who probably came soon after Jayāditya and certainly before the time of Jinendrabuddhi, who comments upon the whole work.[2]

Regarding the personality of the authors of the Kāśikā little definite is known. Neither of them begins his work with any maṅgala, both exhibit an unorthodox tendency to introduce changes into the wording of the sūtras, and Jayāditya at any rate refers on i. 1. 36, with evident satisfaction, to the work of the Lokāyatikas.[3] These reasons tend to show that the author or authors were Bauddhas. It is supposed that Jayāditya is to be identified with king Jayāpīḍa of Kāśmīr, whose minister, as mentioned by Kalhaṇa, was a person named Vāmana.[4] This may not be strictly accurate. Dr. Bühler believed that the author was a native of Kāśmīr.

at least a contemporary of Bhartṛihari the author of the Vākyapadīya. Vāmana who probably wrote the last three chapters of the Kāśikā came soon after Jayāditya, and Jinendrabuddhi, the author of the Nyāsa on the Kāśikā came probably before 750, seeing that he is quoted by so early an author as Bhāmaha. Compare also J. B. B. R. A. S. for 1909, p. 94; Indian Antiquary, xli, pp. 232-237 and xlii, pp. 253–264.

1 Compare the प्रौढमनोरमा on Pāṇini v. 4. 42: एतत् सर्वं जयादित्यमतेनोक्तम् । वामनस्त्वाह &c.

2 On the question of the different authorship of the Kāśikā see Dr. Bhandarkar's Report for 1883–84, p. 58.

3 See Bāla Śāstri's edition of the Kāśikā, p. 62—चार्वी बुद्धिः । तत्सम्बन्धादाचार्योऽपि चार्वी । स लोकायते शास्त्रे पदार्थान् नयते । उपपत्तिभिः स्थिरीकृत्य शिष्येभ्यः प्रापयति । युक्तिभिः स्थाप्यमानाः सम्मानिताः पूजिता भवन्ति ।

4 Dr. Bühler's Report for 1875–76, p. 73.

The Kāśikā is a running commentary on Pāṇini's Ashṭādhyāyī, and its merit consists in the lucid manner in which it has explained the sūtras of Pāṇini, clearly indicating all the anuvṛittis and giving numerous illustrations for each rule. Sometimes the Kāśikā gives us information which we could not possibly have obtained from any other source. Thus on sūtra vii.3.95 it gives us a rule of Āpiśali,[1] the grammarian who preceded Pāṇini and whose work must consequently have been known to the authors of the Kāśikā. On sūtra vii. 2. 17 it gives us a vārtika of the Saunāgas other than those quoted in the Mahābhāshya. These facts, however scanty by themselves, corroborate the tradition of the existence of a vast number of grammarians prior and subsequent to the time of Kātyāyana.

24. The indebtedness of the Kāśikā to Chandragomin.—The object of the Kāśikā was to embody in the Pāṇinīya system all the improvements that were made by Chandragomin. As the result of an exhaustive analysis of the text of Pāṇini's sūtras as given in the Kāśikā-vṛitti Dr. Kielhorn[2] sums up his conclusions thus: "The text of the Ashṭādhyāyī as given in the Kāśikā differs in the case of 58 rules from the text known to Kātyāyana and Patañjali. Ten of these 58 rules are altogether fresh additions; nine are a result of separating (by yoga-vibhāga) the original 8 sūtras into 17. In 19 cases new words have been inserted into the original sūtras, while in the rest there are other changes in the wording &c. of the sūtras."

Some of these changes had been already suggested by Kātyāyana or Patañjali, especially in the matter of yoga-vibhāga. The additional words also were mostly taken

1 See above, page 9 note 3.
2 See Indian Antiquary vol. xvi, pp. 179 and following.

from the vārtikas or from the notes in the Mahābhāshya, as well as from some of the added rules. Most of the new matter found in the Kāśikā can, however, be traced to Chandragomin, from whose work he diligently draws his material without anywhere acknowledging his sources.[1] This fact, as before pointed out, settles 470 A. D. as the upper limit for the date of the Kāśikā.

25. Jinendrabuddhi's Nyāsa on the Kāśikā.—An excellent commentary on the Kāśikā called Kāśikā-vivaraṇa-pañjikā or Kāśikā-nyāsa is the work of Jinendrabuddhi,[2] who styles himself श्रीबोधिसत्वदेशीयाचार्य. This informs us about his religion; as to his date he cannot be later than 750 A. D., seeing that he is referred to by Bhāmaha, who says that a poet should never employ a compound in which a verbal derivative in तृच् is compounded with a noun in the genetive case, and adds that he should not support such usage by the authority of the Nyāsa, which presumably is the same as this work.[3]

The Nyāsa follows closely on the lines of the Kāśikā and tries to incorporate into itself whatever new was produced upto its time.[4] It is a pity that we as yet

1 Thus on iv. 2. 138 Kāśikā gives the vārtika वेणुकादिभ्यश्छण् वक्तव्यः । which is Chāndra sūtra iii. 2.61; the kārikā on v. 4.77 in the Kāśikā embodies sūtras iv. 4. 72 and 73, of Chandra, the Kāśikā further remarking तदेतत् सर्वं योगविभागं कृत्वा साधयन्ति; Pāṇini's sūtra viii. 3. 118, सदेः परस्य लिटि, Chandra changes into सदिस्वञ्जेर्लिटि (vi. 4.98), following herein a vārtika of Kātyāyana (सदो लिटि प्रतिषेधे स्वञ्जेरुपसंख्यानम्); while Kāśikā reads the sūtra itself in conformity with the Chāndra vyākaraṇa. Many more similar instances are given by Liebich in his edition of the Chāndra vyākaraṇa.

2 Govt. Or. Mss. Library, Madras, Ms. no. 941 gives the name as स्थविरजिनेन्द्र.

3 See, however, the references cited at the end of page 35, note 2 above.

4 Compare—अन्यतः सारमादाय कृतैषा काशिका यथा । वृत्तिस्तस्या यथाशक्ति क्रियते पञ्जिका तथा ॥

possess not a single edition of this ancient commentary. There is no complete Ms. of it in any hitherto known collection, but the several fragments may yield a tolerably complete text. And the commentary is well worth the labours of a critical editor, to judge from such fragments of it as were available to me at the Deccan College Mss. Library.

26. Haradatta's Padamañjarī on the Kāśikā.—There is another valuable commentary on the Kāśikā called the Padamañjarī by Haradatta. Haradatta was, as he himself informs us, the son of Padma-(or Rudra-)kumāra, and younger brother of Agnikumāra; while his preceptor was one Aparājita. He was probably a native of the Tamil country and may subsequently have acquainted himself with the Telugu literature, as the instance of a vernacular word (क्राचिमंचि) given by him seems to indicate.[2] The Padamañjarī is quoted in the Mādhavīya Dhātuvṛitti and by Mallinātha, and itself quotes Māgha.[3] According to a portion of the Bhavishyottara Purāṇa giving the history of Haradatta (who is considered as an incarna-

1 Professor K. B. Pathak tells me that the Ms. in the Jain Maṭha at Śrāvaṇa Belgoḷa, which is put down in the lists as a Nyāsa on the Śākaṭāyana-śabdānuśāsana, is really a Ms. of the above work, and goes as far as viii. 3. 11. I understand that Prof. Srish Chandra Chakravarti of Rajshahi College, Bengal, has been able to put together a tolerably complete copy of the text from Mss. collected from all corners of India. He is also going to publish the work shortly (1912). Maitreyarakshita is reported to have written a commentary on the Nyāsa, but I have not been able to verify the statement.

2 These and the following details are taken from Sheshagiri Shāstri's Report on the search of Sanskrit and Tamil Mss. for 1893-94, Madras, No. 2.

3 Benares edition (Reprint from the Paṇḍit) pages 657, 715 line 2 (=Māgha iii. 74), &c. Kirāta ii. 35 is quoted on page 237 line 8; and Bhaṭṭikāvya on page 541 line 16.

tion of God Śiva,) we learn that he died 3979 years after the beginning of Kali, which corresponds to 878 A. D.

This account of the Bhavishyottara Purāṇa probably does not refer to our Haradatta, seeing that it gives Vāsudeva as the name of Haradatta's father.[1] Moreover, Haradatta's Padamañjarī seems to be later than and partly based upon Kaiyyaṭa's Mahābhāshya-Pradīpa,[2] and we cannot assign to Kaiyyaṭa so early a date as cir. 800 A. D., which would be necessary if Haradatta is to be put at 878. Probably, therefore, Haradatta belongs to somewhere about 1100 A. D.

27. **Bhartṛihari's Vākyapadīya.**—From Padamañjarī, the commentary on the Kāśikā, we go back to the writer who according to Itsing was a contemporary of Jayāditya, one of the authors of the Kāśikā; and this is no other than Bhartṛihari, the celebrated poet and grammarian whose date of death, according to the Chinese pilgrim, is 650 A. D. It is not necessary for us to consider in this place the different problems suggested by his name. He may or may not have been a king, a brother of a king or the author of the Śatakas. Itsing's account unmistakably

1 Mr. Sheshagiri Shāstri suggests, loc.cit., that Haradatta's father may have been a Vaishṇava to begin with and may have later changed his name and become a Śaiva, just as Haradatta himself changed his original name of Sudarśana into the one which is more generally known. Some such change of name may appear to have been hinted at in the introductory stanza—यश्चिराय हरदत्तसंज्ञया विश्रुतो दशसु दिक्षु दक्षिणः । उज्जहार पदमञ्जरीमसौ शब्दशास्त्रसहकारपादपात् ॥ All this is ingenious but not convincing, and it must yield to the chronological evidence given below.

2 Compare Padamañjarī on ii. 1.66 (Benares ed. p 384 ll. 5 ff.) with Pradīpa on the same place (Nir. Sag. ed. of the Mahābhāshya, part ii. p. 405). So also compare Padamañjarī on ii. 1. 70 (p. 385) with Pradīpa on the same place (ibid, p. 414). Many more instances can be likewise adduced to show the indebtedness of Padamañjarī to the Pradīpa.

refers to Bhartṛihari the author of the Vākyapadīya and consequently also to the author of a commentary on the Mahābhāshya. Regarding the latter work all that we can say is that it was probably never completed by the author. The Gaṇaratna-mahodadhi states that the commentary extends only to the first three pādas.[1] According to Dr. Bühler fragments of Bhartṛihari's comment exist in the Royal Library at Berlin[2] and in the Deccan. If they exist in the Deccan, they have not so far come to light.

The Vākyapadīya is a metrical discourse on the philosophy of grammar, distributed into three chapters : the Brahma or Āgama-kāṇḍa, the Vākya-kāṇḍa, and the Pada or Prakīrṇa-kāṇḍa. The chief historical interest of the work attaches itself to the account given in about seven stanzas, towards the end of the second kāṇḍa, confirming the statement of the Rājataraṅgiṇī about the fate of the Mahābhāshya.[3] The passage also contains the earliest reference to the Chāndra school, and mentions Baiji, Saubhava, and Haryaksha as grammarians who went before Chandrāchārya or Chandragomin, and who by their uncritical methods of study contributed not a little to the neglect of the Mahābhāshya during the early centuries of the Christian era.

28. Kaiyyaṭa's Pradīpa as marking the end of the second period in the history of the Pāṇinīya school.—Between Bhartṛihari (650 A. D.) and Kaiyyaṭa (the next great writer of the Pāṇinīya school whom we notice and who probably belongs to the eleventh century) we have no names of any consequence to mention. The period was indeed marked by a more or less general grammatical activity, but that

1 Compare com. on Gaṇaratna-mahodadhi, st. 3,—भर्तृहरिः महाभाष्यत्रिपाद्या व्याख्याता।

2 See preface to Kielhorn's ed. of the Mahābhāshya, vol. ii.

3 India : what can it teach us? p. 352 ; Indian Antiquary for 1876, p. 215.

was confined to the systems of grammar outside the Pāṇinīya school. These we shall notice in another place. For Pāṇini's school Kaiyyaṭa's Pradīpa marks the end of the second period of development.

Kaiyyaṭa was probably, as his name indicates, a native of Kāśmīr. His father was Jaiyyaṭa surnamed Upādhyāya, and his preceptor was one Maheśvara. In a commentary on Mammaṭa's Kāvyaprakāśa written by Bhīmasena (Saṁvat 1779=1722 A. D.) Kaiyyaṭa along with Auvaṭa has been spoken of as the disciple and even the younger brother of Mammaṭa.[1] This statement is inaccurate if by Auvaṭa is meant the author of the Bhāshya on the Yajurveda-Saṁhitā, whose father was Vajraṭa; and since Bhīmasena is a late writer we need not likewise attach much importance to the chronological relation between Mammaṭa and Kaiyyaṭa as suggested by him. Mammaṭa was, we know, a great grammarian as well as a rhetorician who lived cir. 1100, and there is nothing improbable in his being a teacher to even Kaiyyaṭa. Kaiyyaṭa's lower limit is given by the circumstance that he is quoted in the Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha (cir. 1300).[2]

Regarding the nature of Kaiyyaṭa's performance it is not necessary in this place to say much. He tells us in his introduction that he followed on the lines of Hari, that is, Bhartṛihari,[3] and he may be pronounced to have been fairly successful on the whole in the task of interpreting the Mahābhāshya. His work has been,

1 श्रीमान् कैय्यट औवटो ह्यवरजो यच्छात्रतामागतो भाष्याब्धिं निगमं यथाक्रममनुव्याख्याय सिद्धिं गतः ॥

2 Aufrecht's Oxford Catalogue, p. 247 *a*.

3 Are we to suppose, therefore, that Kaiyyaṭa had a complete manuscript of Bhartṛihari's commentary on the Mahābhāshya before him? In that case the 'Tripadī' alluded to in the Gaṇaratna-mahodadhi (above, p. 41) must be either a distinct work, or may be no other than the Vākyapadīya itself, which is in three chapters.

in turn, commented upon by Nāgojibhaṭṭa the author of the Pradīpodyota, by Nārāyaṇa who has written a Vivaraṇa upon it, and by Īśvarānanda the pupil of Satyānanda who has composed another similarly named commentary. None of these writers seems to be earlier than A. D. 1600. We have already spoken of Haradatta's Padamañjarī, which is based upon Kaiyyaṭa's work.

For most of these writers who followed Kaiyyaṭa there was very little original work in the Pāṇinīya school that was left to be done. Sanskrit had long been established as a classical language; it ceased to be influenced by current speech in any vital manner. Hence in grammar there was no occasion for any creative work ; and even the work of critical elaboration had well-nigh run its course. This was also the period of the early Muhammedan incursions, which necessarily preceded their permanent occupation of India ; and it was, as was to be expected, marked by a general decadence of literature, reflecting a corresponding ebb in the tide of social and political activities. The study of grammar, accordingly, succumbed to the operation of the usual laws of demand and supply. In the next century or two there may have been petty commentators here and there, and, possibly, some really great writers, but none of their names even have survived the ravages of time. Later when the clouds cleared a little and literature began to flourish, the demand—feeble at first—which some of the enlightened Muhammedan rulers created was adequately met by popular schools of grammar, like the Sārasvata, which now sprang into existence.

29. Recasts of the Ashṭādhyāyī : The Rūpamālā.—It was clear now that if the Pāṇinīya grammar was to keep abreast of the spirit of the times, it should have been remoulded and presented in easier and less repellent style.

The earliest and on that ground the simplest of these recasts of the Ashṭādhyāyī that has come down to us is the Rūpamālā of Vimalasarasvati, a writer who, if the date given in a Ms. of the work be true,[1] must be placed not later than A. D. 1350.

The arrangement of the work is in the style of later Kaumudīs. After treating of प्रत्याहार, संज्ञा, and परिभाषा the author deals with सन्धि in four sections : स्वरसन्धि, प्रकृतिभाव, व्यञ्जन, and विसर्गसन्धि ; then follows declension in six parts: i. अजन्तमाला, ii. हलन्तमाला, iii. सर्वनाममाला, iv. संख्याभाग, v. irregular words like सखि, पति &c., and vi. Vedic irregularities. After these come निपातs, their meanings and grammatical peculiarities, स्त्रीप्रत्ययs, and कारक relations. The longest section deals with the आख्यातs, the peculiarities of each लकार being arranged under separate headings; and as an appendix we have लकारार्थमाला and तङादिनियमभाग, the last giving the circumstances under which verbs change their पदs. The कृत् and the तद्धित occupy the next two sections, the work concluding with a chapter on समास.

It has been thought worth while giving the above details as they help us to show in what respects the later Kaumudīs are an improvement on this their prototype. Vimalasarasvati's manner of presenting his whole subject is quite simple and attractive, if it cannot also claim to be exhaustive. The merit of later works consists mainly in a more systematic arrangement and a somewhat more detailed treatment. All the same, the credit for having conceived the idea of such a recast and carried it into exe-

1 India office Ms. No. 612, which is stated to have been written in Saṁvat 1437 = 1379 A.D. The same Ms. gives Saṁ. 1467 as another date. A Ms. deposited at the Deccan College (No. 209 of 1879–80) is dated Saṁvat 1507. Vimalasarasvati is quoted by Amṛitabhārati, a writer of the Sārasvata school, a manuscript of whose work bears the date A. D. 1496.

cution must ungrudgingly be given to the author of the Rūpamālā.[1]

30. Rāmachandra's Prakriyākaumudī and its commentaries.— Next in chronological order comes the Prakriyākaumudī of Rāmachandra, a writer who probably belongs to the first half of the fifteenth century. He was a Dakshini Brahman, the son of a Krishṇāchārya, and was eminently versed in grammar and Vedānta and astronomy, in all of which he has written original works of his own.[2] The Prakriyākaumudī is supposed to have been the model for Bhaṭṭoji's Siddhāntakaumudī.

There are several commentaries extant on Rāmchandra's Prakriyākaumudī of which the most famous is the Prasāda of Viṭṭhalāchārya. The earliest Ms. of the Prasāda is dated Saṁvat 1605-6 = A. D. 1548–9 ; hence Viṭṭhalāchārya cannot be later than 1525 A. D. As a grammarian Viṭṭhala is disparaged by Bhaṭṭoji, who often refers to him. Viṭṭhala, in his turn, quotes from, among others, Kaiyyaṭa, Trilochanadāsa, Kshīrasvāmin, Durgasiṁha, Jinendrabuddhi, Bhartṛihari, Vāmana, Haradatta, and Bopadeva.[3] Viṭṭhala tells us that he was the son of Nṛisiṁhāchārya and grandson of Rāmakṛishṇāchārya, while his own son was named Lakshmīdharāchārya.

Another commentary on the Prakriyākaumudī that demands a passing notice is the Prakriyāprakāśa of Śesha-Kṛishṇa the son of Śesha-Nṛisiṁhasūri. As he tells us in the introduction to his commentary, which extends to 46 stanzas, he composed this comment for the benefit of Prince Kalyāṇa, the son of a (petty) king of Patrapuñja,

1 Bhaṭṭoji Dikshita acknowledges his indebtedness to him in that he quotes him in the Prauḍha-Manoramā.

2 The information comes from Viṭṭhala who also gives other details, for which see Bendall's Cat. of Mss. in the Durbar Library of Nepal, p. vii.

3 Aufrecht's Oxford Catalogue gives these and other names.

a small place in the Duab formed by the Ganges and the Yamunā. Śesha-Kṛishna, as we shall presently see, was the preceptor of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkshita, and must accordingly be placed cir. 1600 A. D.[1]

31. Bhaṭṭoji's Siddhāntakaumudī and other works.—We next pass on to the deservedly famous Siddhāntakaumudī of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkshita,—a work which is remarkable not only by reason of the host of commentaries and sub-commentaries that it called into being, nor again because it is at present practically the only popular introduction to Pāṇini's grammar, but also owing to the fact—strange as it may appear—that it has eventually ousted Pāṇini himself and most of the other ancient authors of grammar, as also the numerous new schools that had lately sprung into existence. The work is too well known to need any detailed exposition. From the list of previous authors quoted by Bhaṭṭoji in this and his other works[2] we can gather that he freely availed himself of such help as he could possibly get. His indebtedness to one work, however, we learn, only from Meghavijaya, the author of Haima-Kaumudī, who tells us that Bhaṭṭoji's Kaumudī was largely modelled upon Hemachandra's Śabdānuśāsana.[3]

Bhaṭṭoji was the son of Lakshmīdhara and the brother of Rañgoji Dīkshita, while his son was variously known as Bhānu-dīkshita, Vīreśvara-dīkshita or Rāmāśrama. Regarding the other details of Bhaṭṭoji's life Jagannātha, the court pandit of the Emperor Shahajahan, informs us in his Manoramākuchamardinī that Bhaṭṭoji was the pupil of Śesha-Kṛishṇa, to whose memory he does

1 Other commentaries on प्रक्रिया-कौमुदी are सार by काशीनाथ, अमृतसृति by वारणावनेशशास्त्रिन्, व्याकृति by विश्वकर्मशास्त्रिन् &c.

2 An exhaustive list is given in Aufrecht's Oxford Catalogue, p. 162.

3 Peterson's report iii, p. 291. I am not sure about the truth of this statement.

very scant justice in his Prauḍha-Manoramā. As Jagannātha himself was the pupil of the son of this Śesha-Krishṇa, this gives us Bhaṭṭoji's date, which must be about A. D. 1630. This is also confirmed by the fact that a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji wrote a work in Saṁvat 1693.[2]

Bhaṭṭoji himself wrote a commentary on his Siddhānta-kaumudī, called Prauḍha-Manoramā to distinguish it from an abridgment of the same called Bāla-Manoramā also by the same author. Besides shorter works such as commentaries on the Pāṇinīya Dhātupāṭha, Liṅgānuśāsana, &c, Bhaṭṭoji wrote the Śabda-kaustubha which is a voluminous commentary on Pāṇini's Ashṭādhyāyī similar in plan to the Kāśikā. This was left, probably, incomplete; though he must have written as far at least as the fourth āhnika of adhyāya iii, and not only the first pāda of the first adhyāya, as is usually supposed.[3]

Besides Jagannātha's commentary on the Prauḍha-Manoramā, there is another written by Nāgeśā, but ascribed by him to his teacher Hari-dikshita, just as Nāgeśa ascribed another work, a commentary on the Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa, to his parton. Śabda-kaustubha similarly is commented upon by Nāgeśa and by Nāgeśa's pupil Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa. To commentaries ancient and modern on the Siddhāntakaumudī there is no limit. Those most famous are the Tattvabodhinī by Jñānendra-sarasvati, pupil of Vāmanendra-sarasvati, which treats

1 Compare इह केचिन्निखिलविद्वन्मुकुटमयूखमालालालितचरणानां..... शेषावतंसानां श्रीकृष्णपण्डितानां.. प्रसादादासादितशब्दानुशासनास्तेषु च पारमेश्वरं पदं प्रयातेषु कलिकालवशंवदीभवन्तः प्रक्रियाप्रकाशं स्वयं निर्मितायां मनोरमायामाकुलयांचक्रुः। सा च प्रक्रियाप्रकाशकृतां पौत्रैरस्मद्गुरुपण्डितश्रीवीरेश्वराणां तनयैर्दूषितापि स्वमतिपरिष्कारार्थं पुनरस्माभिर्निरीक्ष्यते।

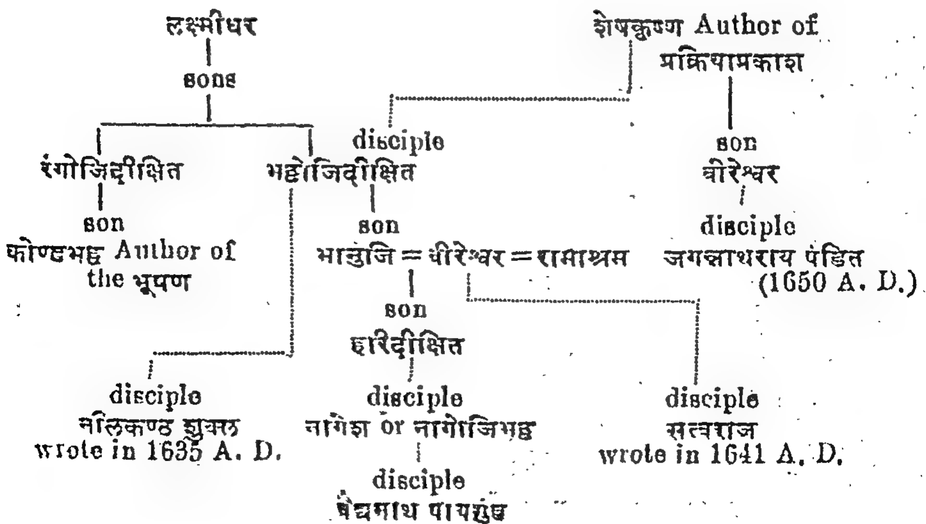
2 Deccan College Ms. No. 183 of A.1882-83, the author of which is नीलकण्ठ शुक्ल.

3 Gov. Or. Mss. Library, Madras, Ms. no. 1328 goes upto the fifth āhnika of adhyāya iii.

of the classical language only and omits the svara and vaidikī prakriyā. It is mostly modelled on Bhaṭṭoji's own commentary and is very useful for beginners. Jayakrishṇa, son of Raghunāthabhaṭṭa of the Mauni family has written a commentary on the svara and vaidikī prakriyā only of the Siddhānta-kaumudī, thus completing that of Jñānendra-sarasvati. Both these writers probably belong to the first half of the eighteenth century. Regarding the abridgments of the Siddhānta-kaumudī and other shorter manuals based upon it we shall speak presently.

The family of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkshita seems to have been a family of great writers and grammarians up and down. Bhaṭṭoji's nephew Koṇḍabhaṭṭa wrote an original work on syntax and philosophy of grammar modelled on the lines of his illustrous uncle and being in fact a discursive gloss on some 74 kārikās of Bhaṭṭoji. Bhaṭṭoj's son Bhānuji taught several pupils, as also his grandson Haridīkshita. Among the pupils of the latter is ranked no less an illustrious name than that of Nāgojibhaṭṭa or Nāgeśa.[1]

1 These relations would be clear from the following geneological table—



32. **The works of Nāgeśa and of Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa**—Nāgeśa or Nāgojibhaṭṭa was a very prolific writer. Besides fourteen great works on Dharma, one on Yoga, three on Alaṅkāra, and about a dozen on Vyākaraṇa-śāstra, he has been credited with the authorship of extensive commentaries on Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa and Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa as also on Saptaśatī, Gītagovinda, Sudhālaharī, and other works. We are here concerned with his grammatical treatises, and prominent amongst these is the Udyota on Kaiyyaṭa's Mahābhāshya-pradīpa; Paribhāshenduśekhara, a collection of Paribhāshās handed down in connection with Pāṇini's grammar and followed by a concise explanatory commentary on them called the Śabdenduśekhara (in two editions a major and a minor); a commentary on the Siddhānta-kaumudī and intended as a companion to the Manoramā; Śabdaratna, a commentary on the Prauḍha-Manoramā, ascribed by him *honoris causa* to his teacher Hari-dikshita; Vishamī a commentary on Bhaṭṭoji's Śabda-kaustubha; and finally the Vaiyākaraṇa-siddhāntamañjūshā (in three editions) on the philosophy of grammar.

The geneological tree given above exhibits Nāgojibhaṭṭa's spiritual descent from his illustrious predecessors; it also helps us roughly to determine his time. In addition we have a tradition current at Jeypur, and mentioned by the learned editor of the Kāvyamālā in his introduction to Rasagaṅgādhara, which refers to an invitation for a horse sacrifice received in 1714 A. D. by Nāgeśabhaṭṭa from Savāi Jeysiṁha, ruler of Jeypur (1688 to 1728 A.D), an invitation which Nāgeśa courteously declined on the ground that he had taken *kshetra-sannyāsa* and could not, therefore, leave Benares to attend the ceremony. Regarding himself he informs us that he was a Mahratta Brahman surnamed Kāḷe, the son of Śivabhaṭṭa and Satī, a resident of Benares and a protegee of

Rāmasiṁha, a local prince of Śṛiṅgaverapura (now Singarour) a few miles north of Allahabad.

Vaidyanātha or Bālambhaṭṭa Pāyaguṇḍa, a direct disciple of Nāgeśabhaṭṭa, wrote like his teacher several works on Dharma and Vyākaraṇa-śātra. He was the son of Mahādeva and Veṇī, and Lakshmīdevī the wife of king Chandrasiṁha of Mithilā was probably his patroness, in whose honour he is reported to have composed a commentary on the Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa of the Mitāksharā, which is usually known as Bālambhaṭṭī. His grammatical labours are mainly confined to writing comments on the works of his predecessors. Thus he has written a Gadā on the Paribhāshenduśekhara, a Chhāyā on the Mahābhāshya-pradīpodyota, a Kalā on Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntamañjūshā, a Prabhā on the Śabdakaustubha, a Bhāvaprakāśikā on the Śabdaratna, Chidasthimālā on the Śabdenduśekhara, and a host of others.

33. Grammatical works outside the Dīkshita school.—Independently of the Dīkshita school there are very few notable names of grammarians belonging to the seventeenth century. We may perhaps mention, as belonging to the early decades of the century, Annambhaṭṭa the author of the Tarkasaṅgraha, who has written an indenpendent commentary[1] on the Ashṭādhyāyī, called Mitāksharā. The school of profound grammarians which is now almost dying out was already on the decline since the middle of the eighteenth century, as is evidenced by the numerous easy manuals that have come into existence during the last two centuries. Some of these popular epitomes ally themselves to no particular school, and these will be dealt with in another part of the essay. We now confine our attention to those belonging to the Pāṇinīya school.

1 Published in the Benares Sanskrit Series.

34. Abridgements and Manuals.—Prominent among these are the abridgements of the Siddhānta-Kaumudī itself by Varadarāja. There are three editions of them—a madhya-, a laghu-, and a sāra-Siddhāntakaumudī,—the difference consisting only in the more or less thorough eschewing of unnecessary details. Strange as it may seem, even these epitomes stood in need of commentaries for their further simplification, or rather the reverse of it. The major abridgment was commented upon by Rāmaśarman at the request of one Śivānanda; the middle one by a Jayakrishṇa, son of Raghunāthabhaṭṭa and grandson of Govardhanabhaṭṭa of the Mauni family.[1] There are a few other easy texts framed independently of the Siddhāntakaumudī, but they hardly deserve special mention. The last stage of this progressive simplification is perhaps reached when we come to works such as Rupāvali, Samāsachakra, etc.

35. Later history of treatises accessory to Pāṇini's grammar.—It only remains now, finally, to speak of the further history of the treatises accessory to Pāṇini's grammar mentioned by us on pages 25 and following of this essay. These works, although originally framed for a particular system, had so much in common with other schools of grammar that they have been transferred with very little modifications from one school to another. The successive stages of this process deserve to be made the subject of an independent study; we cannot in this place afford to dwell on them at any length. We shall only allude to a few notable works in each line.

36. Dhātupāṭha.—The Dhātupāṭha as we find it embodied in the Pāṇinīya system was commented upon by

1 The प्रक्रिया कौमुदी has a similar abridgment calld तत्त्वचन्द्र, the work of one of the pupils of the author, जयन्त, and written in A. D. 1631 (?).

Kshīrasvāmin. A Kāśmīrian tradition makes him teacher to king Jayāpīḍa, which brings him into the eighth century. This conflicts with the fact that Kshīrasvāmin quotes Bhoja, and in so far as he is quoted by Vardhamāna in the Gaṇaratnamahodadhi, this settles his date, which is roughly 1050 A. D.[1] Besides the Dhātuvṛitti Kshīrasvāmin wrote five other works : i. commentary on the Amarakosha, ii. निपाताव्ययोपसर्गवृत्ति, iii. अमृततरङ्गिणी referred to in the Dhātuvṛitti (which is more usually known as क्षीरतरङ्गिणी), iv. निघण्टुवृत्ति mentioned by Devarāja in his Niruktanirvachana, and v. Gaṇavṛitti referred to by Vardhamāna in his Gaṇaratnamahodadhi, a work presently to be mentioned.

In the introduction to the Dhātuvṛitti Kshīrasvāmin notes that several people, including the great Chandra, had essayed before him to write about the roots, but not always successfully.[2] The Chandra here referred to must be Chandragomin, the founder of the Chāndra school, whose Dhātupāṭha was subsequently incorporated by Durgasiṁha with the Kātantra grammar. About the nature of the contents of the Dhātuvṛitti Kshīrasvāmin tells us that one can find therein :

सूत्रव्याख्याकार्यजातं गणानां सेट्त्वानिट्त्वोपग्रहादेः फलं च ।
अष्टाध्याय्यां ये विशेषप्रयोगा धातोर्धातोर्दर्शितास्ते विशेषात् ॥

Of other works of Kshīrasvāmin it is not necessary to say much in this place.

We next turn our attention to the Mādhvīya-Dhātuvṛitti, which deals with the same subject and which was written by Mādhava or Sāyaṇa, the great Vedic Bhāshyakāra (1350 A.D). Sāyaṇa also mentions numerous workers in the same field whose labours he partly utilised. Among

1 See Introduction to Mr. Oka's edition of Kshīrasvāmin's com. on Amara.

2 Compare— भग्नाः पारायणिकाश्चन्द्राद्या अपि च यत्र विभ्रान्ताः । तान्धातून्विवरीतुं गहनमहो अध्यवसिताः स्मः ॥

these may be mentioned, as belonging to the Pāṇinīya school, Bhīmasena and Maitreyarakshita.[1] Of Sāyaṇa's successors we need only specify Bhaṭṭoji and Nāgeśa. The Dhātupāṭhas belonging to the other grammatical schools will be found in their proper places elsewhere.

37. Gaṇapāṭha.—The Pāṇinīya Gaṇapāṭha has not received from commentators the attention that it merits. Different portions of it, such as *nipātas*, *avyayas*, and *upasargas* have been individually explained by various writers, and Kshīrasvāmin, as we saw, is reported to have written a Gaṇavṛitti, which is no longer extant. The only complete work on the Gaṇapāṭha is the Gaṇaratnamahodadhi, which is a metrical arrangement of the Gaṇas followed by a lucid commentary, both composed by Vardhamāna in A. D. 1140.

38. Liṅgānuśāsana.—Besides Rāmachandra and Bhaṭṭoji, who have embodied the Liṅgānuśāsana in their Kaumudīs and written commentaries upon it, we find mentioned in connection with the Pāṇinīya treatises on genders the names of Harshavardhana, Śabarasvāmin and Vararuchi. Of these the first is probably not the same as the celebrated patron of Bāṇa, while the second may or may not be identical with the great Mīmāṁsākāra. Vararuchi is another name for Kātyāyana, and even if these be considered as different, so many late and spurious works are assigned to this great name that it is well-nigh difficult to determine the genuineness of any one of them. A palm-leaf Ms. at Cambay, dated Saṁvat 1287 contains a Liṅgānuśāsana by Vāmanāchārya, which mentions among its predecessors the works of Vyāḍi, Vararuchi, Chandra, and Jinendra.[2] This would at least decide for the existence of

1 See note 1 on page 39, above.

2 Cambay, No. 266 ; व्याडिप्रणीतमथ वाररुचं सचान्द्रं जैनेन्द्रलक्षणगतं विविधं तथान्यत्। लिङ्गस्य लक्ष्म हि समस्य विशेषयुक्तमुक्तं मया परिमितं &c. See also Dr. Peterson's

these works prior to 1200 A. D., and, if Dr. Peterson's identification of Vāmanāchārya with the author of the Kāśikā be correct, prior also to 800 A. D.

39. **Uṇādipāṭha**.—The question as to the authorship of the Pāṇinīya Uṇādi-sūtras has been already dealt with (p. 25, above). These Uṇādis have been very readily absorbed—with only slight modifications—by the various non-Pāṇinīya schools such as Kātantra, Haima, Jaumara, Saupadma, &c. In the school of Pāṇini the future development of the Uṇādis has been only by way of commentaries, the best known being Ujjvaladatta's Vṛitti, which, as pointed out by Aufrecht in his introduction to his edition of that work, must be assigned to cir. 1250. Ujjvaladatta quotes the Vṛittis of Kshapaṇaka, Govardhana, Purushottamadeva, and the Satī-vṛitti,—all of which preceded his own commentary. Later than Ujjvaladatta come Māṇikyadeva, Bhaṭṭoji, and others.

40. **Paribhāshās**.—Already we have more than once alluded to the Pāṇinīya paribhāshās. Pāṇini himself gave a few of these as his sūtras, but he can be proved to have tacitly employed a still larger number.[1] Kātyāyana quotes one, according to Patañjali's showing, in his vārtika 3 to sūtra i. 1. 65, while Vyāḍi, who according to some was a near relation of Pāṇini, is credited with the authorship of almost all the paribhāshās now current. The doctrine of the paribhāshās was, however, fully elaborated by Patañjali and the writers who came after him.[2] So much ingenuity and energy has been spent on the

Report iii. p. 41. The Jinendra here mentioned must be the founder of the Jainendra-Vyākaraṇa.

1 Goldstücker : Pāṇini, page 114 (Reprint, p. 87).

2 For the distinction between परिभाषासूत्र and ज्ञापकसूत्र and the whole theory of paribhāshās see ibidem, pp. 115 (Reprint, p. 89) and the following.

paribhāshās that eventually it has become, for the Pāṇinīya student, the hardest nut to crack. This feat has usually been attempted in the body of the commentaries themselves. Regular treatises specially dealing with paribhāshās come much later. Perhaps the earliest known is that of Sīradeva, who is quoted in the Mādhavīya-Dhātuvṛitti. Nāgeśa's Paribhāshenduśekhara contains the most popular exposition of the paribhāshās, and it has been commented upon by Pāyaguṇḍa, Bhairavamiśra, Śeshaśarman, Bhīmabhaṭṭa, and many others. Non-Pāṇinīya schools copied most of their paribhāshās from Pāṇini, the earliest of them being the Kātantra for which Durgasiṁha put together a list of paribhāshās and wrote a commmentary on the same.

This is also the place where we can introduce a host of treatises on the philosophy of grammar—dealing with questions such as the nature of sound, the connection between word and its meaning or of sentence and its component parts, and so forth. The issues have been raised and dealt with in the Mahābhāshya itself, and later writers have derived most of the material for their lucubrations from that source. The earliest of such treatises is the Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛihari and the latest deserving a special mention is the Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntabhūshaṇa of Koṇḍabhaṭṭa, a commentary on which was written by Nāgeśa. A multitude of smaller and larger lights came in between. The works are mainly special monograms on particular topics, the kāraka relations alone having engaged over forty writers of different schools and opinions.

41. Résumé of the history of the Pāṇinīya school.—Here perhaps we may draw a deep breath and, before proceeding with the history of the non-Pāṇinīya schools of grammar, cast a hurried glance over the field that we have already travelled.

Beginning with the dim and half poetic speculations of the Brahmanic exegetes, we saw how the science of grammar flowed onward broadening down from precedent to precedent until we reach the age of Yāska who sums up the results achieved by his predecessors and makes his own contribution to the stream. The leap from Yāska to Pāṇini is probably a very great one, but the course of development is, to a large extent, hidden from us—is underground as it were—until it issues in a perfect form in the Ashṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini.

The subsequent history of the science is marked by three well-defined stages. The first which ends with the Mahābhāshya busies itself with the perfection of Pāṇini's work, adding a rule here, restricting the application of another there, and so on. This period may be characterised as the creative stage of the science.

This is followed by a period of critical elaboration, the chief work of which consists in giving a precise point to these rules, changing the wording of some for the sake of brevity, of others for including in it a word or two inadvertently left out by the earlier grammarians, or not in vogue in their time ; but for the main part in writing vast commentaries on the works of their predecessors so as to explain their intention. This was also the stage when the theory of the paribhāshās and jñāpakas was worked out in details. The branching off from the main stem of a separate school, the Chāndra, which belongs to this period, is to be explained as due rather to the necessities of the times, than to any real split in the domain of the science itself. This period extends roughly to about 1000 A. D.

The last stage marks a progressive deterioration in the study of grammar. We have in the first place the rise of a number of new and popular schools of grammar intended to simplify the science for the enlightenment of

the laity. Following the wake of the times we have, side by side, numerous recasts of the Ashṭādhyāyī tending towards the same object. The lowest stage is reached when we come to the popular handbooks of the eighteenth century. How far this decline is to be attributed to the political aspects of the time is more curious than profitable to inquire. Certain it is that they could not have failed to produce their influence, though it is easy to exaggerate it. Nor, finally, should it be forgotten that broad characterisations of long periods in the history of any country or science have always to be accepted with limitations. The periods often overlap, and in this present case they are tentative only and may have to be revised in the light of later researches.

It is time now that we turned to the non-Pāṇinīya schools of grammar.[1]

The Chāndra School

42. The Chāndra School.—The earliest reference to the Chāndra school of grammarians occurs in Bhartṛihari's Vākyapadīya (see p. 41 above), while one of the latest is perhaps that of Mallinātha, who quotes a rule of his in his commentary on Kālidāsa's Meghadūta, stanza 25 (नीचैराख्यं गिरिमधिवसेः).[2] Mallinātha, however, does not appear to

1 The order in which schools are here presented is not strictly chronological, the allied schools being taken together.

2 In the passage cited Mallinātha says that while Pāṇini allows only the form विश्रम Chandra allows विश्राम also. As a matter of fact Chandra allows only one form (Chāndra sūtra vi. 1.42); it is Śākaṭāyana and Hemachandra who allow both the forms, which are indiscriminately used in classical Sanskrit. Presumably, therefore, Mallinātha either had access to a work of the Chāndra school not known to us, or more probably he meant by Chandra Hema-chandra, unless the whole is a positive mistake. I owe this note to Mr. Krishṇāji Govinda Oka, editor of the Kshīrataraṅgiṇī.

have had a direct access to the Chāndra vyākaraṇa, seeing that Mss. of the work have been extremely rare, none of the various 'Searches for Sanskrit manuscripts' instituted by Government having been able to bring to light any works of the school except a fragment brought by Dr. Bühler from Kāśmir in 1875, and a complete copy of the Chāndra vyākaraṇa written in the Nepalese year 476 (i. e. 1356 A. D.) brought by Haraprasāda Shastri from Nepal.[1] However, by the labours of Dr. Bruno Liebich, the whole system has now been recovered in the original or Tibetan translation. The same scholar has also published the Chāndra vyākaraṇa (Leipzig 1902). The account of the system given below is mostly based on his writings.

43. **The date of Chandragomin.**—Chandra, or more accurately, Chandragomin must have lived at least some time before the authors of the Kāśikā, which has borrowed, always without acknowledgment, such sūtras of Chandra as have no parallel either in Pāṇini or in Kātyāyana. This gives us 650 A. D. as the lower limit for Chandragomin. The upper limit is supplied by a vṛitti on the Chāndra sūtras, most probably the work of Chandragomin himself,[2] which gives the sentence अजयद्गुप्तो(? Ms. जर्तो or जप्तो) हूणान् as an illustration of the use of the imperfect to express an event which occurred within the lifetime of the speaker. This victory over the Hūṇas can refer either to their temporary defeat by Skandagupta soon after 465 A.D., or (less likely) to their final expulsion by Yaśodharma[3] in 544 A. D. This gives us 470 as the approximate date for Chandragomin. This result is further confirmed by the fact that Vasurāta the preceptor

1 See Nachrichten der Goettinger Gesellschaft 1895, pp. 272-321.

2 See Dr. Liebich's paper "Das Datum Chandragomin's und Kālidāsa's", p. 3.

3 Who, however, was not a Gupta.

of Bhartṛihari acknowledged Chandrāchārya (Chandragomin) as his master.[1] Chandragomin must have lived therefore at least two generations before the author of the Vākyapadiya. All accounts agree in stating that Chandragomin was a Bauddha. He was one of the laity, and is not to be confused with Chandradāsa who belonged to the order.[2]

44. Nature of Chandragomin's work.—Chandragomin's grammar was meant as an improvement on that of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali, mainly in the way of greater brevity and precision. Accordingly he has omitted, for obvious reasons, the Pāṇinīya rules about Vedic accent and grammar, although he includes some Vedic roots in his Dhātupāṭha. He has lessened the number of pratyāhāra-sūtras by one (fusing हयवरट् and लण् into हयवरलण्), omitted some of the Pāṇinīya pratyāhāras and coined others. In many cases, the rules of Pāṇini are recast simply for the sake of securing facility of pronunciation.[3] The really original contributions of Chandragomin amount to about 35 sūtras and these have been incorporated in the Kāśikā. *In all these cases Kaiyyaṭa* has the remark अपाणिनीयः ग्रन्थेषु पाठः. The total number of the Chāndra sūtras is about 3100 as against 4000 of Pāṇini. The work consists of six chapters of four pādas each, the matter of Pāṇini's first two chapters being scattered all through.

The object of Chandragomin was to 'rearrange the grammatical material with the object of bringing together all the rules that deal with the same phonetic or grammatical operations as well as the same part of

1 See Vākyapadīya Kāṇḍa ii, stanzas 489–90 and com. thereon.

2 Liebich, ibidem, p. 10-11; Kern: Manual of Buddhism, pp. 129, 130; also Ind. Ant, xv. pp. 183-184.

3 For Pāṇini's अनेकाल् शित् सर्वस्य (i. 1. 55) Chandra reads शिद्-नेकाल् सर्वस्य (i. 1.12).

speech.' The Chāndra terminology with slight changes is that of Pāṇini. The mode of presenting the subject is also artificial, after the fashion of Pāṇini. The gramar goes by the nickname of असंज्ञक, perhaps because the संज्ञाs are not here treated of separately, but probably because wherever in his sūtra Pāṇini has used the word संज्ञा Chandragomin uses the word नामन्.[1]

45. **Accessory treatises of the Chāndra grammar.**—In addition to the sūtras in six adhyāyas Chandragomin has put together an Uṇādi list in three parts, a Dhātupāṭha in ten sections (both published by Dr. Liebich), as also Liṅgakārikās or Liṅgānuśāsana, Gaṇapāṭha, Upasargavṛitti, and Varṇa sūtras. The Uṇādis differ from those belonging to the Pāṇinīya school principally in their mode of presentation, the suffixes being here arranged according to their final letter. In a few cases Chandra also derives the words differently. The Dhātupāṭha, as we saw (p. 52, above), is referred to by Kshīrasvāmin and was subsequently incorporated in the Kātantra system. The Liṅgānuśāsana is referred to by Vāmanāchārya, Ujjaladatta, and Rāyamukuṭa (see above, p. 53). As to the Gaṇapāṭha no separate work of the kind has yet been discovered, but we must assume the existence of such a work as we find it embodied in the sūtra-vṛitti, just as the Kāśikā has done with regard to the Pāṇinīya Gaṇapāṭha. The Upasargavṛitti is found in Tibetan version only, and explains the meaning and use of about twenty upasargas. Finally, the Varṇasūtra (Ms. no. 289 of 1875-76 in the Deccan College collection) is a very short treatise[2] corresponding to the Pāṇinīya Śikshā and gives in about 40 sūtras

1 Compare Chāndra sūtras i. 2.30, i. 3. 77, ii. 2. 14, &c. with Pāṇini's iii. 2. 46, iii. 3. 174, ii. 1. 21 &c. A few cases do occur, however, where Chandra permits the use of the word: *e. g.* Chandra i. 1. 123=Pāṇini iii. 1. 112.

2 I take this occasion to publish the work entire on the basis

the स्थान and प्रयत्न of वर्णs. No work on Paribhāshās in connection with the Chāndra school has come down to us.

Besides the above grammatical works Chandragomin is credited with the authorship of a religious poem called Śishyalekhā, and a drama called Lokānanda, neither probably of much consequence.

46. **Later history of the Chāndra school.**—We have already alluded to Chandragomin's own vṛitti on his grammar. Fragments from it extending from about v. 1. 13 to v. 1. 176 are still extant. This vṛitti was later incoporated in a commentary by Dharmadāsa, a complete Ms. of which exists in the Library of the Mahārāja of Nepal.

It is undoubted that there must have been written numerous commentaries on the Chāndra Vyākaraṇa during the palmy days of Buddhistic literature; and they must have been very popular, seeing that a good many of them have been translated and freely circulated in Tibet at least since 1000 A. D., if not earlier, when Sthiramati, one of the translators of most of the Chāndra texts in the Tibetan language, probably lived. Some of these works had also gone to Ceylon along with other Buddhistic texts. However, at present, in addition to the works above mentioned, only a few more—about fifteen—are known to exist, mostly in Tibetan translations.[1] Such of the Sanskrit Mss. as we know of, come all from Nepal.

Having once enjoyed such a vast circulation, the almost total disappearance of the system from India requires explanation. We can account for this fact, firstly, on the ground of its want of originality, such of the original matter as there was—and it was not much—be-

of the only Ms. of the work known to exist. See Appendix I.

1 For a list of these see Ind. Ant. xxv, pp. 103 and following.

ing already incorporated in the Pāṇinīya school through the Kāśikā. Mainly however we must look to the cause of its disappearance in its non-secular character. Being the work of a Buddhist for the Buddhistic community, it shared the fate of Buddhism, and having obtained vogue for a few centuries it gradually ceased to be cared for, its aid being invoked in later times only for the sake of justifying an otherwise unjustifiable word, or for pointing out and rejecting such of its rules as went counter to the established system of grammar. The Grammar, we are told, is still extensively studied in Tibet.

In Ceylon its fate was different. Being a Buddhistic country we expect the Chāndra system to be diligently studied there. As a matter of fact, the current Sanskrit grammar in Ceylon belongs to the Chāndra school, but we shall look in vain for any original Mss. either of the Chāndra-sūtras or of commentaries thereon.

The reason is that about 1200 A. D. a Ceylonese Buddhistic priest, Kāśyapa by name, wrote a popular recast of the Chāndra grammar called Bālāvabodha. It corresponds to Varadarāja's Laghu-kaumudī in treatment and subject-matter. The work was so popular in Ceylon that it quite superseded the original Chāndra text, with the result that all other Chāndra works have disappeared in course of time, just as the works of the pre-Pāṇinīya grammarians did after the advent of Pāṇini.

Under these circumstances, it is quite impossible to pursue any farther the history of the Chāndra school of grammarians in India.

The Jainendra School

47. The Jainendra School.—The traditional author of the aphorisms of grammar which go under this name is Jina or Mahāvīra, the last of the Tīrthaṅkaras. The tradition

of the Digambara[1] Jains as embodied in several of their works such as Samayasundarasūri's commentary on the Kalpasūtras or Lakshmīvallabha's Upadeśamālākarṇikā is, that Indra asked certain questions to Jina when of eight years, and had the science of grammar revealed to him by way of answers; the grammar in consequence came to be known by their joint name.[2] A Ms. (no. 1223) belonging to Professor Kathavate's collection for 1891-1895 launches, in its marginal notes, into a detailed verification of this tradition, trying to answer all the objections raised aganist it.

The chief objection, of course, is the concurrent testimony of the colophons of all the Mss., which invariably ascribe the work to Devanandi. This is also confirmed by the introductory stanza—

लक्ष्मीरात्यन्तिकी यस्य निरवद्यावभासते ।
देवनन्दितपूजेशे नमस्तस्मै स्वयंभुवे ॥

which is given by all Mss.,[3] wherein the first word of the second line, obscure in meaning as it is, appears to be purposely used to indicate the name of the author. Further, works like Dhanañjaya-kośa or Jaina-Harivaṁśa[4] (A. D. 783) and writers like Bopadeva or Hemachandra refer to Devanandi as the author of this grammar. The point then may be regarded as fairly settled. This Devanandi is otherwise known as Pūjyapāda.

1 The Jainendra-sūtrapāṭha belongs to the Digambaras from whom the Śvetāmbaras have borrowed it wholesale. The tradition, therefore, belongs more strictly to the Śvetāmbaras.

2 यदिन्द्राय जिनेन्द्रेण कौमारेऽपि निरूपितम् । ऐन्द्रं जैनेन्द्रमिति तत्प्राहुः शब्दानुशासनम् ॥

3 Except the one above quoted, which gives a different maṅgala.

4 In the opening *praśasti* of the work there is a reference to the Jainendra-vyākaraṇa. Akalaṅkadeva also quotes a Jainendra sūtra in the तत्त्वार्थराजवार्तिक i. 5.1.

Dr. Kielhorn once believed that Pūjyapāda was a *nom de plume* assumed by a late writer, with the view all the more readily to make the work pass under the name of the last Tīrthaṅkara. The historical existence of the founder of this school thus doubted by Dr. Kielhorn has been conclusively established by Professor Pathak,[1] who quotes a verse from the Nandisaṅgha Paṭṭāvali[2] and gives other references to prove that Devanandī was no other personage than Pūjyapāda himself.

48. **Date of the Jainendra-vyākaraṇa.**—The foundation of this school dates from about the same time as that of the Chāndra. If anything, the Jainendra would come a little before the Chāndra. Professor Pathak in his paper on the Jaina Śākaṭāyana (Indian Antiquary, Oct. 1914) gives evidence to assign the Jainendra-vyākaraṇa to the latter part of fifth century A. D. Among his arguments are: 1. the fact that the Kāśikā seems to betray a knowledge of the Jainendra-vyākaraṇa[3]; 2. the circumstance that the Jainendra sūtra[4] alludes to Īśvarakṛishṇa the author of the Sāṅkhya-kārikās (who is assigned by Dr. Takakusu to A. D. 450) and to the twelve year cycle of Jupiter according to the heliacal rising system[5] a system which was in vogue in the time of the Early Kadamba kings and their contemporaries, the Early Gupta kings; and 3. the collateral evidence to be drived from later references to the Jainendra from the ninth century on. Thus the Śākaṭā-

1 Indian Antiquary xii, pp. 19 ff.

2 यशःकीर्तियशोनन्दी देवनन्दी महायतिः। श्रीपूज्यपादापराख्यो गुणनंदी गुणाकरः॥

3 Kāśikā iii. 3.40 उच्चयस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः presupposes Jainendra sūtra ii, 3. 36 हस्तादेयेऽनुच्चयस्तेये चेः, as Kāśikā could not have derived it from elsewhere.

4 Sūtra iii. 3.134—शरद्वच्छुनकदर्भाग्निशर्मकृष्णरणाद् भृगुवत्साग्रायणवृषगणब्राह्मणवसिष्ठे । Contrast Pāṇini, iv. 1.102. The Amoghavṛitti of Śākaṭāyana explains आग्निशर्मायणो वार्षगण्यः, the latter being another name for Īśvarakṛishṇa.

5 Sūtra iii. 2.5 गुरूदयाद्भाद्युक्तेऽब्दे।

yana Śabdānuśāsana (which dates from 1025 A. D., as we shall see) is largely indebted to the Jainendra. A Digambara Darśanaśāstra of 853 A. D. mentions, as stated by Dr. Peterson,[1] a pupil of a certain Pūjyapāda as being the founder of a Draviḍa-saṅgha. Lastly, an inscription from the Śaṅkhabasti temple at Lakshmeśvara records a gift in Śaka 652 (730 A. D.) of Śrī-Pūjyapāda to his house-pupil, although this last is not quite a trustworthy evidence, being not contemporaneous, and there may have been more than one Pūjyapāda.

49. **Character of the Jainendra-vyākaraṇa.**—There are two versions in which the Jainendra grammar has come down to us. The shorter one which consists of about 3,000 Sūtras is followed by Abhayanandī in his gloss on the grammar, while the longer one which, besides other minor differences in the wording and the arrangement of the sūtras, gives over 700 sūtras not found in the shorter version, is followed by Somadeva in his commentary called Śabdārṇavachandrikā, which, as he himself tells us, was composed in A. D. 1205. Professor Pathak has accumulated evidence tending to show that the longer version followed by Somadeva is the truer one, while that of Abhayanandī is much later.[2]

The Jainendra grammar is altogether wanting in originality. It is nothing but Pāṇini and the vārtikas condensed as much as possible. The merit of the work solely consists in the number of ingenuous shifts resorted to for the purpose of securing the maximum economy of words. Even the most trifling changes such as that of विभाषा or अन्यतरस्यां into वा, of मनुष्य into नृ, and the alteration of the order of the words in the sūtras[3] so as to

1 Report for 1883–84, p. 74.

2 Professor Pathak intends shortly to write a paper on the subject.

3 Pāṇini vii. 1. 9 अतो भिस ऐस् is changed into भिसोऽत ऐस्।

produce by coalescence a syllable less are not disregarded. The Pāṇinīya pratyāhāras are retained without a change, though the fourteen Śiva-sūtras together with the section on Vedic grammar, are omitted. In addition, Devanandī has invented a large number of shorter technical terms[1] which bristle throughout his work and make its study the most complex imaginable.

Devanandī alias Pūjyapāda has, as is the wont of most Digambara writers, nowhere quoted by name or acknowledged his obligations to authors and works not belonging to his own religion. He has in his sūtras quoted six names.[2] The Deccan College Ms. no. 1223 of 1891-95, which makes it its business to prove that the author of this grammar is Jina himself, gives on this point a rather incorrectly written note[3] which tends to say that since one of the above names, that of Prabhāchandra, which occurs in the sūtra रात्रेः प्रभाचन्द्रस्य, appears on the face of it to be a fiction, we may presume the same for all the rest. We can couple with this the statement of one of the commentators on Hemachandra's Dvyāśrayamahākāvya to the effect that Siddhasena, another of the quoted names, was not a grammarian at all. Dr. Kielhorn similarly believed that all these names were fictitious and thought that the practice of thus quoting names *honoris causa* was not confined to the Jainendra school alone. Unfortunately we cannot decide the matter now.

50. Later history of the Jainendra-vyakaraṇa.—The absence of any originality accounts for the paucity of works connected with this school. Two commentaries only have

1 Such as त्य for प्रत्यय, य for कर्मधारय, म for परस्मैपद, अग for आर्धधातुक, and so on.

2 Namely, श्रीदत्त, यशोभद्र, भूतिबलि, प्रभाचन्द्र, सिद्धसेन, & समन्तभद्र.

3 प्रक्षेपाऽवीच्य(?)तां स्फुटत्वात्। रात्रेः प्रभाचन्द्रस्यवत्। देवनंदिमतां मोहः प्रक्षेपरजसोपि चेत्। चिराय भवतां "रात्रेः प्रभाचन्द्रस्य" ज्ञीप्यताम्॥

been preserved, one by Abhayanandi whose date is probably 750 A. D., and another called Śabdārṇava-chandrikā by Somadeva. Somadeva represents[1] himself as the contemporary of the Śilāhāra King Bhojadeva (Bhoja II) and an inhabitant of Ajurikā (which is probably to be identified with आजरें in the Kolhapur State). It is probable that in addition to these two commentaries that have come down to us, some others were written, and possibly the grammar was at one time made the object of diligent study; but our information on this point is extremely scanty.

There is also a recast of the Jainendra grammar meant to facilitate its study for beginners. It is called Pañchavastu, and, as is to be expected, it follows the shorter text of the sūtras as given by Abhayanandi. The work is said to be that of Devanandi; but this is clearly a mistake founded on the fact that the sūtras followed are those of Devanandi. The introductory section of the Pañchavastu which deals with the pratyāhāras seems to be an interpolation. This section mentions a person called Ārya-Śrutakīrti[2] as the author of the whole work. Is he then the author of this recast? If so, the absence of any other allusion to him in the body of the work becomes rather curious. Professor Pathak mentions a Śrutakīrti as having flourished about Śaka 1045.

About the history of the Jainendra grammar since the thirteenth century very little definite is known. The work probably shared the fate of all imitations and ceased

1 Compare the Colophon—स्वस्ति श्रीकोल्हापुरदेशान्तर्वर्त्यार्जुरिकामहास्थान......जिनालये......श्रीमच्छिलाहारकुलकमलमार्तण्ड......श्रीवीरभोजदेवविजयराज्ये शकवर्षैकसहस्रैकशतसप्तविंशतितमक्रोधनसंवत्सरे···· [illegible] श्रीमत्सोमदेवमुनीश्वरेण &c.

2 Indian Antiquary, x, p. 75; Dr. Peterson's Report for 1883–84, pp. 67 ff.

to be attended to when the original on which it was based came to be studied more and more. It was meant to appeal to a sect and even there it was not without a rival. To this day it draws a solitary student here and there from amongst the Digambara Jains, especially of Southern India.

The Saktayana School

51. The Śākaṭāyana School.—Separated from the Jainendra school by some two centuries or so but much allied to it in its object and the mode of treatment comes the Śākaṭāyana Śabdānuśāsana, which, like its predecessor, was meant to appeal to a limited body of co-religionists: the Śvetāmbara Jains. To judge from the number of regular commentaries and other accessory treatises in connection with this school and from the numerous references to it in works like the Gaṇaratna-mahodadhi, Madhavīya-Dhātuvṛitti and so forth, it would appear that at one time the Śabdānuśāsana was largely studied among members of communities other than those to whom it was primarily addressed. There is not much originality in the work itself to deserve this popularity.

52. The founder of the Śākaṭāyana Śabdānuśāsana not the ancient Śākaṭāyana but his modern namesake.—The name Śākaṭāyana suggests, as we have seen, a very high antiquity in that it is quoted in the Nirukta (i. 3) and in Pāṇini's Ashṭādhyāyī (iii. 4.111, viii. 3.18, viii. 4.50). Here, however, we are dealing not with the ancient Śākaṭāyana—none of whose works have survived even in name—but with a modern or *abhinava* Śākaṭāyana: with the person who under this appelation is quoted, for instance, in Bopadeva's Kāmadhenu,[1] by Hemachandra, and other later writers.

1 Colebrooke, Mis. Essays, Vol. II. p. 44; Aufrecht's Oxford Catalogue p. 176 *a*.

The late Dr. Kielhorn once expressed doubts as to the historical existence of this modern Śākaṭāyana. He inclined to the view that it was some modern Jain writer who has presented his own grammatical labours under the auspicies of a revered name, carefully[1] trying to follow the views attributed to him in ancient works and possibly having for its basis some of the teachings of the earlier Śākaṭāyana. Professor Pathak's paper on the Jaina Śākaṭāyana (Indian Antiquary for October 1914) has now conclusively established not only the historical existence of the author of the Śabdānuśāsana but his exact date. The Śākaṭāyana who wrote the Śabdānuśāsana also wrote the Amoghavritti, which was written[2] in the time of Amoghavarsha I, the great Rāshṭrakūṭa king whose known epigraphic dates range from A. D. 817—877.

53. Character of the Śākaṭāyana Śabdānuśāsana.—Besides the older grammarians such as Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, Patañjali, and Chandragomin, Śākaṭāyana has freely drawn upon the work of Pūjyapāda the author of the Jainendra-vyākaraṇa. Many sūtras of Śākaṭāyana are identical with those of Pāṇini,[3] and in cases where they differ the object has been to say in shorter and fewer words what

1 Carefully but often inaccurately: Thus in sutras iii. 4. 111 and 112, Pāṇini tells us that the Imperf. 3rd pers. plu. of या is अयुः only according to Śākaṭāyana, but not so in his own opinion. This establishes विभाषा. Now the modern Śākaṭāyana also makes the rule optional and allows both forms in his sutra आद्विपोर्ङेर्जुसा । This is what Pāṇini teaches, and not what Pāṇini represents Śākaṭāyana to have taught.

2 The most conclusive proof for this is the use of the instance अदहदमोघवर्षोऽरातीन् to illustrate the use of the imperfect (sūtra iv. 3. 207) to describe a well-known past event which the writer might have personally witnessed but did not. There is inscriptional evidence to prove that the event in question took place shortly before Śaka 789 or A. D. 867 (see Ep. Ind. vol. i, p. 54, Ind. Ant. vol. xii, p. 181).

3 E. g. Pāṇini's i. 3. 11, ii. 1. 1, viii. 4. 40, &c.

was already intended by Pāṇini.[1] Most of the new matter is taken from Chandragomin[2] (without acknowledgment of course) and where he has improved upon Chandragomin, the improvement was already suggested by the Jainendra sūtras,[3] independently of which there is hardly anything new that we can put to his credit.[4] In his sūtra i. 2.37 Śākaṭāyana seems to quote Indra who probably is to be identified with Pūjyapāda, the founder of the Jainendra school.

The Śākaṭāyana Śabdānuśasana consists of four adhyāyas of four pādas each, the total number of sūtras being about 3,200. The arrangement of topics is similar to that of later Kaumudīs. He gives thirteen प्रत्याहारसूत्रs and following the suggestion of Kātyāyana has omitted from them the vowel ऌ and assigned therein a place to the अयोगवाहs. He does not, of course, treat of the Vedic grammar. His ingenuity is mainly confined to economising the wording of the sūtras. Except in three[5] cases, he has invariably substituted the monosyllabic वा, wherever Pāṇini had used विभाषा, or अन्यतरस्याम् or had quoted the name of some ancient authority. The most striking instance of this tendency is given perhaps by

1 E.g. सात्मेतेत् for आदिरन्त्येन सहेता of Pāṇini (i. 1. 71).

2 Instead of Pāṇini's iv. 4. 29, परिमुखं च, Chandra gives परेर्मुखपार्श्वात् and so also does Śākaṭāyana.

3 In giving Chandragomin's improvement सखिङ्गुतवणिग्भ्यो यः on Pāṇini's सख्युर्यः (v. 1. 126) Śākaṭāyana economises one syllable by giving the sūtra as सखिवणिग्ङ्गुतात्यः, herein imitating Pūjyapāda.

4 For Pāṇini's हस्ताज्जातौ (v. 2. 133), Chandra gives हस्तदन्ताज्जातौ (iv. 2. 130), Jainendra gives हस्तदन्तकराज्जातौ (iii 4. 143), and so also does Śākaṭāyana. The like holds true of Pāṇini's ii. 1. 18, ii. 3. 34, &c.

5 Namely Śākaṭāyana sūtras ii. 1. 229, i. 2. 13, i. 2. 37 (corresponding to Pāṇini's v. 4. 154, vii. 1. 79, and vii. 2. 101 respectively), where Śākaṭāyana quotes सिद्धनन्दि, आर्यवज्र, and इन्द्र. Whether, these three names are merely पूजार्थ or there were before him grammarians of that name cannot be determined.

Pāṇini's sūtra v. 2.128, which runs द्वंद्वोपतापगर्ह्यात्प्राणिस्थादिनिः. Chandra changed this into पार्श्व(=द्वंद्व) रोग(=उपताप)गर्हितात्प्राणिस्थादस्वाङ्गादिनिः, where the substantial change is the addition of the qualifying clause अस्वाङ्गात्. Śākaṭāyana says just what Chandra said, but instead of प्राणिस्थ puts a form which is shorter by full two syllables—[illegible]. In his technical terminology also he has often taken up Chāndra words in preference to Pāṇini's wherever the former were shorter. Thus he has used चादि, सर्वादि, तङ् and अतङ् instead of निपात, सर्वनामन्, आत्मनेपद and परस्मैपद of Pāṇini.

54. Other works of the Śākaṭāyana school.—Besides the Śabdānuśāsana and the Amoghavritti Śākaṭāyana is credited with the authorship of i. Paribhāshā-sūtras, ii. Gaṇapāṭha in sixteen pādas, iii. Dhātupāṭha, iv. Uṇādi-sūtras in four pādas, and v. Liṅgānuśāsana in seventy āryā stanzas. Of these none is older than the corresponding Pāṇinīya treatise. One expects to find in the Uṇādi-sūtras at least traces of the ancient Śākaṭāyana and his works, but he is sure to be disappointed in his expectations. The other treatises also do not call for any special notice. Hemachandra based his own Liṅgānuśāsana on that of Śākaṭāyana, of which, in fact, it is only an enlarged edition.

55. Later history of the Śākaṭāyana school.—The later history of the Śākaṭāyana school—as is the case with almost every grammatical school—is to be divided into two parts: the period of commentaries and sub-commentaries, and the period of digests and manuals. The periods often overlap chronologically. Of commentaries on the Śākaṭāyana Śabdānuśāsana the most noted are i. a Nyāsa[1] quoted in the Mādhavīya Dhātuvritti. Probably this is

1 The Ms. in the Jain Maṭha at Śrāvaṇa Belgoḷa is not, as reported, a Ms. of the Śākaṭāyana Nyāsa; it is a Ms. of Jinendrabuddhi's Kāśikāvivaraṇapañjikā, and an almost complete Ms. for that, written in Canarese characters. See before, note 1 on page 39.

no other than the Nyāsa by Prabhāchandrāchārya, which is in the nature of a commentary on the Amoghavṛitti.[1] And ii. a commentary called Chintāmaṇi by Yakshavarman. This was throughout based upon the Amoghavṛitti and lays no claim to originality.[2] Nevertheless it has been honoured by many sub-commentaries such as the Maṇiprakāśikā by Ajitasenāchārya, Chintāmaṇipratipada by Maṅgarasa, and a Tippaṇī by Samantabhadra.

Besides regular commentaries there have been produced at least two or three recasts of the Śākaṭāyana grammar. The best of them is the Prakriyāsaṅgraha by Abhayachandrāchārya, published at Kolhapur, 1907. Abhayachandra's date follows from that of his pupil Keśavavarṇi who in Śaka 1281 (=A. D. 1359) wrote a Sanskrit commentary on Gomaṭasāra, a philosophical work in Prākrit. Abhayachandra thus flourished during the first half of the fourteenth century. In his recast Abhayachandra has omitted a large number of the original sūtras, which were unnecessary in a work for beginners, and amplified a few others. His arrangement is closely modelled upon works like the Prakriyākaumudī. Another and a still shorter abridgment of the Śākaṭāyana grammar is the Rūpasiddhi by Dayāpāla, pupil of Matisāgara and a fellow-student of Vādirāja alias Jayasiṁha II, the Chālukya emperor who was reigning in Śaka 947 (=A. D. 1025).[3] The work is somewhat similar in scope to the Laghukaumudī.

1 Regarding the Amoghavṛitti, Śākaṭāyana's own commentary on his sūtras, see Professor Pāṭhak's paper (Ind. Ant. for October 1914).

2 Compare—तस्यातिमहतीं वृत्तिं संहृत्येयं लघीयसी। सम्पूर्णलक्षणा वृत्तिर्वक्ष्यते यक्षवर्मणा॥ Extracts to prove the dependence of this commentary on the Amoghavṛitti are given by Professor Pāṭhak, loc. cit.

3 For these facts I am indebted to Professor Pāṭhak's paper in the Ind. Ant. for Oct. 1914.

In course of time the Śākaṭāyana Śabdānuśāsana came to be fairly ousted from the field by a powerful rival in the shape of Hemachandra's Śabdānuśāsana, which like its predecessor[1] was addressed to the Śvetāmbara Jains, with the result that even Mss. of works belonging to the school are at present very rarely to be met with outside of Southern India, which was once the centre of its greatest influence.

The Hemachandra School

56. The Hemachandra School.—The last, but not on that account the least, of these sectarian schools that we have to notice is the one which is known under the name of its founder, the Jain monk Hemachandra. About Hemachandra and his times we know a good deal more than what we did regarding the founders of the other schools hitherto described. The biographical material regarding Hemachandra has been brought to a focus in Dr. Bühler's German pamphlet[2] entitled 'Ueber das Leben des Jaina Monches Hemachandra,' Wien, 1889.

57. Life of Hemachandra.—Hemachandra was born on the full-moon night of the month of Kārttika in the year of Vikrama 1145 (corresponding to A. D. 1088 or 1089, November-December) at a place called Dhunduka, now in the British Collectorate of Ahmedabad. His parents were humble banias, Chachiga and Pahini by name. He was originally named Chāṅgadeva. The mother was a

1 That Śākaṭāyana was Śvetāmbara Jain is proved by the numerous references to the Āvaśyaka-sūtra, Chheda-sūtra, Niryukti, Kālikā-sūtra, and other Śvetāmbara works found in the Amoghavṛitti.

2 Besides the प्रशस्ति found in Hemachandra's writings this work is based upon प्रभावकचरित by मेरुतुङ्गाचार्य and प्रद्युम्नसूरि (1250 A. D.), प्रबन्धचिन्तामणि by मेरुतुङ्गाचार्य (1305-6 A. D.), प्रबन्धकोश by राजशेखर (1348-9 A. D.), and कुमारपालचरित by जिनमण्डन (1435-6 A. D).

good pious woman, and the birth and the greatness of her would-be son was conveyed to her in a dream which was interpreted for her by a religious teacher named Devachandra.

When Hemachandra was a boy of five, Devachandra requested Pahini to surrender the son to the service of religion, offering considerable money in compensation. The money was refused, but the boy was given over, who, at Cambay, on the 14th day of the light half of the month of Māgha, being Sunday, was solemnly received into the order of the Jain Priesthood, taking on that occasion the new name of Somachandra. During the twelve years that followed his ordination, and of which our information is very scanty, Somachandra probably devoted himself to learning with great zeal. On the conclusion of his studies he was consecrated as Sūri or Āchārya, once more, and for the last time, changing his name to Hemachandra.

The next glimpse that we have of him is at Anahilla-paṭṭaka as the acknowledged head of the greatest of the many Jain communities there. Jayasiṁha otherwise called Siddharāja, was then on the throne, ruling from (Anhilvad-) Patan an empire which extended from Abu to Girnar and from the western sea to the borders of Malva. He was a munificent patron of learning and an earnest enquirer into religious truth. He never abandoned the worship of Śiva which was traditional with his house, but it was his delight to gather religious men from all quarters and to set them discussing before him the truth of their systems. Hemachandra early attracted his notice and he sought to conciliate, if not actually to convert, his sovereign by the use of clever parables inculcating suspense of judgment and eclecticism. There are several stories current about Jayasiṁha and Hemachandra displaying the latter's shrewdness in contending with his Brahman enemies at court.

After the death of Jayasiṁha (1143 A. D.) Kumārapāla, his nephew, came to the throne. The first ten years of his reign he spent in victorious warfare on the northern frontiers of his kingdom. When he had nothing to fear from his enemies, he settled down to a peaceful and contemplative life. In this case there is no reason to doubt that Hemachandra's exertions resulted in the king's conversion. A drama called Moharāja-parājaya is based upon this fact. It is the oldest of our authorities for Hemachandra's times, being written by Yaśaḥpāla, minister to Ajayapāla, Kumārapāla's successor. According to the drama Kumārapāla's conversion took place in Saṁvat *1216*, the second day of the bright half of the month of Mārgaśīrsha. It is at the request of Kumārapāla and in order to establish him in his new faith that Hemachandra wrote the Yogaśāstra, just as, ere long, he had written the Śabdānuśāsana at the request of Siddharāja or Jayasiṁha.

During the closing years of Kumārapāla's reign he, in company with Hemchandra, made many pilgrimages to Jain sacred places in Western India. Hemachandra, who was now an octogenarian, soon felt his end drawing near, and he boldly set out to meet it by means of प्रायोपवेशन. He was 84 at the time of his death. Kumārapāla died only six months after him. With their death the glories of the Jain empire also came to an end, after a brief existence of unparalleled brilliancy.

58. Nature of Hemachandra's Śabdānuśāsana.—Regarding Hemachandra's grammar (the full title of which is सिद्धहेमचन्द्राभिधस्वोपज्ञशब्दानुशासन[1]) it consists, like Pāṇini's work, of eight adhyāyas of four pādas each, the total number of sūtras being about 4,500. Of these nearly

1 A certain commentator explains the first part of the title thus— सिद्धराजेन कारितत्वात् सिद्धम् । हेमचन्द्रेण कृतत्वात् हैमचन्द्रम् ।

fourth part of sūtras is given by the last adhyāya alone, which deals exclusively with the Prākrit languages which were now in their most flourishing condition. In the remaining adhyāyas the arrangement of subjects is natural, only slightly differing from that of the Kaumudīs.

Hemachandra's object in writing a new grammar for the benefit of his illustrious patron was to say in the shortest possible manner not only all that his predecessors had said upon the subject, but everything that could be said. Accordingly he has drawn freely upon the works of all the grammarians and commentators that had gone before him: indeed in some cases—especially in regard to Śākaṭāyana's Śabdānuśāsana and the Amoghavṛitti—his dependence is so close as to amount to almost slavish imitation.[1]

Hemachandra wrote a commentary on his own sūtras called Śabdānuśāsana-Bṛihadvṛitti. This commentary is profuse and learned, quoting the views of many writers—always under the general appellation of अपरः, परः, अन्यः, एकः, कश्चित् etc.— for approval in some cases and refutation in most others. A commentary called Nyāsa on this Bṛihadvṛitti identifies a large number of these quotations[2] and if properly edited along with Hemachandra's Bṛihad-

1 Some typical instances will be found collected by Professor Pathak in the Indian Antiquary for October 1914, page 209. That Hemachandra does now and then add a bit of his own is proved by instances like the sūtra पारे मध्ये षष्ठ्या वा (Pāṇini ii. 1. 18), which Śākaṭāyana gives as पारे मध्येऽन्तः षष्ठ्या (वा), while Hemachandra gives as पारे मध्येऽग्रेऽन्तः षष्ठ्या वा ।

2 These are: इन्द्रगोमिन्, उत्पल, उपाध्याय, कङ्कल, कलापक, काशिकाकार, क्षीरस्वामी, चन्द्रगोमिन्, जयन्तीकार, दुर्गसिंह, देवनंदी, न्यासकार, पाणिनि, भाष्यकार (otherwise शेषराज or श्रीशेष), भोज, वामन, वार्तिककार, विश्रान्तविद्याधर, शाकटायन, श्रुतपाल, and many others. The उपाध्याय is probably कैयट, while श्रुतपाल is probably the same person who is quoted in the Amoghavṛitti at iv. 1. 252-3.

vritti it is very likely to shed considerable light on many a dubious point in the history of Indian grammar. At the end of each pāda of the vritti Hemachandra, by way of a praśasti, has added a stanza in praise of his patron and his family. They are all given together in a note to Dr. Bühler's pamphlet above referred to, and are written in the usual classical style of flattery.

An abridgment of the Brihadvritti for the first seven chapters of the Śabdānuśāsana is also attributed to Hemachandra, and may probably have been written with his concurrence. It is a mere patchwork, containing nothing new or original. Mss. of it date as far back as cir. 1350 A. D., and one old palm leaf Ms. calls it, instead of Śabdānuśāsana, Laghuvritti-Śabdānuśāsana-Rahasya. To illustrate the rules of his grammar, Hemachandra has composed a poem, resembling the Bhaṭṭikāvya, which is known as Dvyāśraya-mahākāvya.

59. Treatises accessory to Hemachandra's Śabdānuśāsana.—It is not necessary to describe in fuller details the treatises accessory to Hemachandra's Śabdānuśāsana. These are: i. Haima-Dhātupāṭha, which is arranged for the most part like the corresponding treatise of Pāṇini; ii. Uṇādisūtras, numbering a little over 960; iii. Liṅgānuśāsana, a metrical treatise, being an enlargement of the Śākaṭāyana Liṅgānuśāsana and divided into eight sections;[1] iv. Gaṇapātha; v. A collection of Paribhāshās; and some others. For the most part these treatises are embodied in Hemachandra's Brihadvritti, from which they seem to have been subsequently extracted and published in a separate form. It is doubtful whether the vivaraṇas or vrittis which are given in Mss. of the Liṅgānuśāsana or of the Uṇādisūtras do really come from

[1] Namely—पुंल्लिङ्ग, नपुंसकलिङ्ग, पुंस्त्रीलिङ्ग, स्त्रीलिङ्ग, पुंनपुंसकलिङ्ग, स्त्रीक्लीब, त्रिलिङ्ग and परलिङ्ग.

Hemachandra. Here, as in most of the commentaries on the Śabdānuśasana, the colophons of the original work are mistaken for those of the commentaries themselves.

60. **Commentaries on Hemachandra's Śabdānuśāsana.**—The most important and extensive of these commentaries or rather sub-commentaries is the Bṛihadvṛitti-ḍhuṇḍhikā. No complete Ms. of this work has been hitherto discovered, the longest extending only upto the fifth adhyāya. The Mss. indifferently call it दीपिका, अवचूरि, अवचूर्णिका and ढुण्ढिका. Its authorship also is equally uncertain. Many Mss. and reports ascribe it to Hemachandra, which is very probably a mistake. A Ms.[1] from the Deccan College collection, which contains the commentary on adhyāyas vi. and vii, is stated to have been the work of Dhanachandra. Another[2] Ms. of the Ḍhuṇḍhikā purports to be the work of Jinasāgara, while a third which contains only a fragment from the ākhyāta section gives Nandasundara as its author. These conflicting statements it is very hard to reconcile. The most probable view is that there were two slightly varying versions of the Ḍhuṇḍhikā and consequently there may have been two separate authors. Whether each wrote a commentary on all the seven adhyāyas or only on portions from them it is perhaps impossible to decide. The Ḍhuṇḍhikā on the eighth or the Prākrit chapter is the work of Udayasaubhāgya, pupil of Harshakula of the Laghutapāgachchha. It was written in 1533 A. D. during the reign of Bahadur Shah of Gujarat (1525-1537). The object of a Ḍhuṇḍhikā is to take the various sūtras of the Śabdānuśāsana in order, explain them word by word, and in the majority of cases to quote instances of its application, deriving the several forms step by step by bringing in the necessary sūtras.

Another very useful commentary on the Bṛihadvṛitti is by Devendrasūri, pupil of Udayachandra of the Chān-

1 No. 10 of 1877-78. 2 No. 119 of 1869-70.

dragachchha. It is called Haimalaghunyāsa and purports to be an abridgment of a larger Nyāsa by Udayachandra, the author's preceptor.[1] This latter work has not come down to us. The importance of this commentary mainly consists in that it refers many of Hemachandras's quotations to their sources. A third anonymous commentary calls itself Śabdamahārṇavanyāsa. There do not seem to be existing any more commentaries worth the name.

61. **Digests and manuals and other miscellaneous works.**— Smaller manuals based on Hemachandra's Śabdānuśāsana have also come down to us, the most famous by far being the Haima-laghuprakriyā by Vinayavijayagaṇi, pupil of Kīrtivijayagaṇi. It was composed in Saṁvat 1710=1652 A. D.[2] A commentary on it called Haima-prakāśa was also written by the author some twenty-five years later.[3] A second digest referred to above,[4] called Haimakaumudī alias Chandraprabhā, was put together in Saṁvat 1725 (=1669 A. D.) by Meghavijaya, one of the sūris who "by the command of the lord of the country (Deśapati) were provided with quarters for the rainy season in the palace of Agarāvara.[5]" This work is said to have been the model for the Siddhāntakaumudī. The facts may have been just otherwise.

Of lesser lights we have i. Puṇyasundaragaṇi who arranged for the school the different Sanskrit roots in their alphabetical order giving after each root its meaning, gaṇa, and other conjugational peculiarities; ii. Śrīvallabhavāchanāchārya who wrote in Saṁvat 1661,

1 Compare the following stanzas from the Praśasti :— ..उदयचन्द्रोऽस्ति शिष्यः संख्यावतां वरः । यावज्जीवमभूद्यस्य व्याख्या ज्ञानामृतप्रपा ॥ तस्योपदेशाद्धेमेन्द्रसूरिशिष्यलवो व्यधात् । न्याससारसमुद्धारं मनीषी कनकप्रभः ॥

2 Compare : खेन्दुमुनीन्दुमितेऽब्दे विजय-स्तो राजधन्यपुरनगरे । हैमव्याकरणस्य प्रथितेयं प्रक्रिया......... ॥

3 Compare: ऋषिवह्निगजधिशशिमित-वर्षे रत्नपुरे रम्ये । ग्रन्थोऽयं सम्पूर्णो विजयादशम्यां........ ॥

4 See before, page 46, note 3.

5 Peterson's Report iii, page 10.

who wrote a Śabdānuśāsana of his own and composed a commentary on it during the life-time of Hemachandra himself, if we are to trust the evidence furnished by the instance अदहदरातीन्कुमारपालः given in the commentary.[1] This would make Malayagiri flourish between A. D. 1143 and 1174. Malayagiri, unlike Hemachandra, used pratyāhāras and followed on the lines of the Kātantra as well as Śākaṭāyana. Unfortunately, the only Ms. of this work that has so far come to light is incomplete, and nothing further could be said of this work here.

Regarding the Prākrit chapter of Hemachandra's Śabdānuśāsana and its subsequent history—for, it had an independent development of its own—we need not discuss it in this place as it is beyond the proper province of our essay, which is limited only to the Sanskrit schools of grammar.

From these sectarian schools of grammar we shall now turn to schools which are rather cosmopolitan in character, being designed mainly to appeal to the masses —to schools whose object was to say just what is sufficient for a proper understanding of the language, to which grammar was considered, and justly considered, as only ancillory—to schools, namely, which go by the names of the Kātantra, and the Sārasvata.

The Kātantra School

63. The Kātantra school.—The name Kātantra, according to the commentators, means a short treatise, a handbook in other words in which the niceties of Pāṇini's grammar have been dispensed with for the benefit of beginners. This view gains plausibility from a statement in the

1 See Dr. Kielhorn's report for 1880-81, page 46.

Vyākhyānaprakriyā[1] which says that this grammar was primarily designed for the use of—

> छान्दसः स्वल्पमतयः शास्त्रान्तररताश्च ये।
> ईश्वरा व्याधिनिरतास्तथालस्ययुताश्च ये॥
> वणिक्सस्यादिसंसक्ता लोकयात्रादिषु स्थिताः।
> तेषां क्षिप्रं प्रबोधार्थम्—

Weber in his history of Indian Literature p. 227 notes that this grammar was meant for those who wished to approach Sanskrit through Prākrit, and that the Pāli grammar of Kachchāyana was based upon the Kātantra. We have else where (page 10) spoken of the relation which Dr. Burnell discovered between this and the Tamil grammar, and of these again with the ancient Prātiśākhyas and other Aindra treatises. All accounts thus agree in stating that the Kātantra grammar was not the creation of a school, but was rather meant to satisfy a real popular need; and looking to the intrinsic merits of the work itself, as also to the host of commentators that have been attracted towards it, it is clear that the work must have served its purpose pretty well, at least for a time.

64. Traditional account about Śarvavarman, the founder of the school.—The Kātantra is otherwise known as Kaumāra or Kālāpa, and the traditional explanation[2] of the genesis of these two names is as follows: There once lived in the Deccan a king called Śātavāhana[3] who, while one day having *jala-keli* with his queen, was requested by her "मोदकं देहि राजन्," meaning "Pray, do not sprinkle any more

1 Ms. No. 316 of 1875–76 from the Deccan College Library.

2 The tradition is mentioned in Dr. Bühler's Report for 1875-76, p. 74, and detailed in the कलापव्याकरणोत्पत्तिप्रस्ताव by वनमालि, a Ms. of which is No. 50 of Notices, Second Series, by Haraprasada Shastri.

3 Is he to be identified with the Andhra King of that name mentioned on p. 208 of V. A. Smith's Early History of India, third edition, published in 1914? In that case the beginning of the Kātantra will have to be put in the first century of the Christian era.

water on me." Thereupon the ignorant king offered her some (मोदकैः) sweets. Subsequently, discovering his error and being much ashamed of his ignorance of Sanskrit, he requested his Pandit named Śarvavarman[1] to devise a speedy method of learning grammar. The Pandit in his difficulty besought God Śiva who ordered his son Kārttikeya or Kumāra to accede to his wishes. Accordingly, Kumāra revealed the sūtras of the Kaumāra grammar. As the God's vehicle, the bird Kalāpin (peacock), was the instrument of communication, the sūtras also obtained their other name. This tradition—like most others of its kind —has probably a germ of truth. The date of the rise of this school as given by the tradition is not at all inconsistent with other ascertained facts. Thus Durgasiṁha the earliest known commentator on this grammar cannot as we shall presently see, be later than 800 A. D., and when we consider that he may not have been the first commentator on the Kātantra, and that, at any rate, the Sūtrapāṭha known to him cannot be necessarily identical with that which was original, seeing that considerable differences are observable between his Sūtrapāṭha and that current, for instance, in Kāśmir since 1100 A. D.,— we may for the present accept the first century after Christ as the century which witnessed the rise of this grammar.

65. **Evidence for later interpolations in the Kātantra Sūtrapāṭha.**—Coming now to the work itself we notice that the Sūtrapāṭha which now goes under the name of Śarvavarman is divided into four parts :

i. सन्धिप्रकरण—Consisting of संज्ञापाद, स्वरसन्धि (समान*) पाद, स्वरसन्धिनिषेध (ओदन्त*) पाद, व्यञ्जनसन्धि (वर्ग*)-पाद, विसर्गसन्धिपाद, and [निपातपाद].

1 I adopt this form of the name in preference to Sarvavarman.

* The starred names are derived from the first words of the

ii. नामप्रकरण—Consisting of स्वरान्त (लिङ्ग*) पाद, व्यञ्जनान्तपाद, सखिपाद*, युष्मत्पाद, कारकपाद, समासपाद, तद्धितपाद, and [स्त्रीप्रत्ययपाद].

iii. आख्यातप्रकरण—Consisting of परस्मैपाद*, प्रत्ययपाद*, द्विर्वचनपाद*, सम्प्रसारणपाद, गुणपाद, अनुषङ्गपाद, इडागमपाद*, and घुद्पाद.

iv. कृत्प्रकरण—Consisting of सिद्धिपाद*, धातुपाद*, कर्मणिपाद*, कृन्तुपाद*, [उणादिपाद], and धातुसम्बन्धपाद*.

In this connection the first question to be raised is: Does the fourth part—the कृत्प्रकरण—belong to the authorship of Śarvavarman himself, or was it only tacked on to his work by a later hand? Most commentators, including Durgasiṁha, note that the word सिद्धि which begins the first section of this prakaraṇa is मङ्गलार्थं. A maṅgala it is true, may come at the beginning of the work as a whole or in the body of it: before commencing the various subdivisions of it. In this particular case Durgasiṁha tells us सिद्धिग्रहणं भिन्नकर्तृकत्वान्मङ्गलार्थम्. He elsewhere tells us that the कृत्प्रकरण is the work of Kātyāyana.[1] Jogarāja the author of a work called the Pādaprakarṇasaṅgati[2] and probably the same person who is alluded to by Maṅkha (circa 1135-45 A. D.) in his Śrīkaṇṭha-charita, agrees in not assigning the कृत्प्रकरण to the authorship of Śarvavarman; only he makes Śākaṭāyana their author. Lastly, Raghunandanaśiromaṇi, the author of a commentary[3] on the Durgasiṁha-vṛitti, credits Vararuchi with the authorship of the prakarṇa in question—अथ कृदन्ताः शार्ववर्मणा

sūtras commencing the various sections. Alternative names are enclosed within circular brackets.

1 See note 2 on page 27 before.

2 This work gives a topical analysis of the Kātantra-sūtras. It is printed in Appendix 2 on the basis of the Deccan College Ms. 292 of 1875-76.

3 A Ms. of the work is no. 352 of Notices, Second Series.

कथं न दुर्गादिभिः । वररुचिना[1] वा कथं दुर्गादिभिः । इति शिष्यहितन्यासकार्यं
प्रतिपादयन्नाह । कृतादिवदित्यादि । Whoever be the real author, it is clear that the कृत्प्रकरण is a later addition to the original sūtrapāṭha.

Another clear case of later interpolations in the Kātantra sūtrapāṭha is furnished by the three sections in rectangular brackets—निपातपाद, परस्मैपदपाद, and उणादिपाद—which are absent in Durgasiṁha's commentary but which are regularly found included in the Kāśmirian sūtrapāṭha.[2] And even in the sections which are common to both these there are so many variant readings[3] that we are probably justified in inferring that the Kātantra sūtrapāṭha was in a very unsettled and changeable form when it reached Kāśmir—probably long before it found an expositor in Durgasiṁha.

Finally, the अव्ययपाद belonging to the second prakaraṇa seems likewise to be not of the authorship of Śarvavarman. The sūtras in this section (like those in the परस्मैपदपाद as given by the Kāśmirian tradition) naturally arrange themselves into anushṭubh stanzas; and although some sūtras here and there from this section have been in Professor Eggeling's edition of the Kātantra printed as such stanzas, still this general fact has not yet received sufficient attention. The inference is obvious. If Śarvavarman did not think it necessary to teach the कृत् section to his Royal

1 Vararuchi is often an alias of Kātyāyana. The India office Ms. no. 855 purports to be Vararuchi's com. on his own कृत्सूत्र, which are just those sūtras.

2 Outside Kāśmir the place of these sections is taken up by a Liṅgānuśāsana in 86 āryās, attributed to Durgātma, who is probably not the same person as Durgasiṁha; and by an Uṇādipāṭha put together by Durgasiṁha himself. This latter work differs considerably from the उणादिपाद included in the regular Kāśmirian sūtrapāṭha.

3 A few such are collected in Dr. Bühler's report for 1875–76, page cxxxiv.

pupil, no more did he care to teach him the तद्धित section (or the स्त्रीप्रत्यय section). And as it cannot be urged that the तद्धित section formed for the king a harder nut to crack than, for instance, the आख्यात section, there was no apparent need for Śarvavarman's running into poetry and that for one or two sections only. The facts may have been these: A manual which made the king proficient in grammar in a few months' time must have attracted the early notice of the courtiers and subjects of the king. The omission of तद्धित and other sections may then have been noticed and rectified—either by the original author or some other scholar. And the impetus to such additions being once given, the Kātantra from being a mere handbook issued forth into a full-blown system.

66. **Nature of Śarvavarman's work.**—The nature of the improvements made by Śarvavarman on the current text-books of grammar is evident even from that portion of the Kātantra which we have no hesitation in accepting as his own genuine work. These consist in i. dispensing with the artificial arrangement of the letters of the alphabet introduced by Pāṇini, and retaining in their stead their natural arrangement such as is found in the Prātiśākhyas.[1] ii. As a consquence the Pāṇinīya pratyāhāras, which result in brevity as well as unintelligibility, are dispensed with, their place being taken by the earlier and simpler Sañjñās such as स्वर, व्यञ्जन, समान etc. This has saved the system the defining sūtras, of which there is such a number in Pāṇini. iii. In the distribution of the subject matter, in preference to the old artificial arrangement of Pāṇini there has been adopted one which is natural or topical, similar to that of the later Kaumudīs. iv. Lastly, as was essential in a work designed for beginners, the

1 The first sūtra of the Kātantra—सिद्धो वर्णसमाम्नायः—is in fact taken from the Prātiśākhyas.

whole of the Vaidikī prakriyā of Pāṇini and all the other rules of an exceptional or difficult character have been simply omitted. Thus instead of the nearly 4000 sūtras of Paṇini, Śarvavarman could finish his work in about 855 sūtras, or including the कृत् section, 1400 sūtras only.

67. **Early history of the Kātantra school**—The intrinsic merits of the work as also the fact that its author was patronised by a powerful king of the Deccan ensured its rapid circulation even in countries as remote as Kāśmīr and Ceylon. The explanation of this popularity is also partly to be found in the fact that there was an urgent demand for such a work. The text-books in use prior to the advent of this school were intended rather for Pandits and monks than for the merchants and agriculturists, in whom nevertheless the desire to learn the language of the Scriptures and of refined society was not quite absent. This led to the detection of inaccuracies and omissions in the original version of the grammar, which came to be rectified in the course of study, so that the original Sūtrapāṭha of Śarvavarman experienced, in the course of the next two or three centuries, the addition of the तद्धित and चतुष्टय पादs, and the substantial assimilation with Śākṭāyana's or Vararuchi's व्याकरण. During the period of its ensuing extensive circulation other minor changes or additions may have been made from time to time. The text must in any case have been pretty fairly fixed in at least two recensions, the northern and the southern, before it found an able commentator in Durgasiṁha.

68. **Durgasiṁha and his vṛtti.**—Whether Durgasiṁha had any predecessors in the task of expounding the Kātantra cannot now be ascertained. His was probably the first systematic attempt where necessary to explain and amplify[1] the Kātantra grammar so as to make it as thorough-

1 By means of giving vārtikas, some of which later commentators have incorporated with the original sūtras. Cf. Eggeling's edition, Notes, p. 57?.

going as possible, without running counter to its original object of ease and simplicity. As Durgasiṁha is quoted by Hemachandra, and as he knew the Chāndra Dhātupāṭha, on the basis of which he put together another Dhātupāṭha for the Kātantra, Durgasiṁha probably is to be assigned to the eighth century. As the verse introductory[1] to his Uṇādisūtras contains an invocation to God Śiva, Durgasiṁha probably was not a Bauddha, and if so, he is distinct from another Durgasiṁha, the author of a commentary on Durgasiṁha's vṛitti, whose invocation[2] points unmistakably to his faith. Durgasiṁha is also to be distinguished from later writers such as Durga, Durgātma, and Durgāchārya. The last is the author of a commentary on the Nirukta, and one of the first two, if indeed they are two persons,[3] wrote a Liṅgānuśāsana to the Kātantra (see note 2 on page 85).

69. **Commentaries on Durgasiṁha's vṛitti.**—Writers subsequent to Durgasiṁha have mainly confined themselves to writing commentaries on his masterly vṛitti. The earliest of these is the Kātāntravistara by Vardhamāna,[4] whose patron was Karṇadeva, who probably is the same who ruled Gujarat in A. D. 1088. Vardhamāna is often quoted by Bopadeva in his Kāvyakāmadhenu. A writer called Mahāmahopādhyāya Pṛithvīdhara wrote a sub-commentary on Vardhamāna's work.

1 नमस्कृत्य शिवं भूरिशब्दसन्तानकारिणम्। उणादयो विधास्यन्ते बालव्युत्पत्तिहेतवे ॥

2 शिवमेकमजं बुद्धमर्हदग्र्यं स्वयंभुवम्। कातंत्रवृत्तिटीकेयं नत्वा दुर्गेण रच्यते॥ This Durga styles Durgasiṁha as भगवान् वृत्तिकारः। Compare Eggeling's Notes, p. 465.

3 One of them may have been a वीरशैव; compare the verse :— स्त्रीपुंनपुंसकत्वेन भिन्नं येन चराचरम्। लिङ्गं जयति साक्षित्यमशेषागमकारणम् ॥ It has a ring of that faith about it. The other as we saw was a Bauddha.

4 Goldstücker believed him to be the same as the author of the Gaṇaratnamahodadhi, a work composed (सप्तनवत्यधिकेष्वेकादशसु शतेष्वतीतेषु) in 1139-40 A. D.

The next in succession comes Trilochanadāsa,[1] who is also cited by Bopadeva and by Viṭṭhala the commentator on the Sārasvata. He may have come very soon after Vardhamāna. His commentary is called Kātantravṛittipañjikā, and from it we learn that the author was a Kāyastha, the son of Megha and father to Gadādhara. Trilochanadāsa has been himself commented upon by Jinaprabhasūri alias Jinaprabodha,[2] by Kuśala, by Rāmachandra, and by other more modern writers.

Mahādeva, the author of a commentary called Śabdasiddhi, a Ms.[3] of which bears the date Saṁvat 1340, is chronologically the next writer whom we have to notice. As, however, there is very little known about him either from his own works or from those of others, we shall pass on to later writers.

Of these we have already alluded to Durga or Durgātma, author of a commentary on Durgasiṁha's vritti, who has often been confounded with Durgasiṁha himself. An anonymous writer has written a Ḍhuṇḍhikā on the Kātantravṛitti, probably modelled upon a similarly named commentary on Hemachandra's Śabdānuśāsana. No other commentaries on the Kātantra that could be definitely assigned to a period anterior to 1500 A. D., are now extant. See, however, §72.

70. Treatises accessory to the Kātantra.—We have already incidentally spoken above of the treatises accessory to Kātantra. There are not many of them, and the majority of them are much later productions. The earlier ones are the Liṅgānuśāsana in 88 āryās by Durga, and the

1 He is not to be identified with the author of that name who wrote the Kātantrottarapariśishṭa to Śrīpatidatta's supplement.

2 For particulars about Jinaprabodha see Peterson's Report for 1886-92, Index; and Kielhorn's report for 1880 81, Mss. nos. 35 and 36.

3 Ms. no. 60 of Dr. Kielhorn's collection for 1880-81.

Uṇādipāṭha and the Dhātupāṭha by Durgasiṁha the author of the vṛitti. The Dhātupāṭha is modelled upon that of Chandragomin, with only slight modifications. The genuine Kālāpa-Dhātusūtra, which differs considerably from the above, is now reported to exist only in a Tibetian translation.

71. **History of the Kātantra school in Bengal.**—No definite information exists as to when the Kātantra was introduced into Bengal. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there arose in Bengal a host of commentators and writers of supplements to the Kātantra, and the grammar is there to this day most assiduously studied. Some of the most famous of these Bengali writers are : i. Kavirāja who quotes Trilochanadāsa and is quoted by Harirāma ; ii. Kulachandra who is quoted by Rāmadāsa ; Gopīnātha Tarkāchārya who is commented upon by Rāmachandra who also wrote a commentary on the Kātantravṛittipañjikā ; iii. Śrīpati who wrote a supplement to the Kātantra which is honoured with commentaries written by Gopīnātha Tarkāchārya, Rāmachandra Chakravarti, Śivarāma Chakravarti, and Puṇḍarīkāksha ; iv. Trilochana (not the older Trilochanadāsa) who wrote an Uttarapariśishṭa, giving therein such information on धातु, तद्धित, and समास as had escaped Śrīpati ; and several others. Most of these writers came from the Vaidya community of Bengal, and their object in all cases has been, by partial or wholesale borrowing from all available sources, to make the Kātantra as complete and up-to-date as possible, so as to prevent its being neglected in the course of the struggle for existence which began with the modern revival of Pāṇini under the auspices of the Kaumudīkāras, and the simultaneous springing into existence of a large number of other modern schools of grammar. At present, as before observed, the study of the Kātantra is confined to only a few districts of Bengal.

72. History of the Kātantra school in Kāśmir.—In Kāśmir the school had a slightly varied development. The Sūtrapāṭha received there was, as we saw, considerably different from that known to Durgasiṁha; and we can hence conclude that the Kāśmirian Paṇḍits got familiar with the works of Durgasiṁha much later. Until then they busied themselves with writing original commentaries and digests on the Kātantra which, as Dr. Bühler observes, has been the grammar of the Kāśmirians from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. Only a few of their works in Mss. have so far been available. There is among others a work called the Bālabodhinī by Bhaṭṭa Jagaddhara with a Nyāsa upon it by a writer called Ugrabhūti, who, if identical with his name-sake who was a teacher of grammar to Ānandapāla and whose book (as Alberūni says) was made fashionable in Kāśmir by liberal donations from the royal pupil to the Paṇḍits, must be placed in the latter part of the tenth century.[1] Another rather well-known book is the Laghuvṛitti by Chhichhubhaṭṭa, which perhaps belongs to about the same time.[2] Of later and less important books there is quite a number. The modern popular books of grammar in Kāśmir are based on the Kātantra.

The Sārasvata School

73. The Sārasvata school: its date.—The origin of the Sārasvata school of grammarians cannot be put down to a date very much earlier than 1250 A. D., when Bopadeva the author of the Mugdhabodha flourished, seeing that he

1 See Vincent Smith's Early History of India, Third edition, p. 382, note.

2 The Deccan College Ms. of the work brought over by Bühler in 1875 76 contains at the end the following colophon: शाके शशि(त्रि)र्विमिते सप्तकद्वशे(?) सिते &c., which perhaps stands for Śaka 1037 = 1115 A. D.

nowhere refers to the Sārasvata school. If the school existed in his days—if it had attained a sufficient standing in the eyes of scholars—we should naturally expect Bopadeva to mention it, just as he does many other established schools and authors. Nor does the school appear to have been known to Hemachandra. Further, none of the commentaries on the Sārasvata belongs to a date earlier than 1450 A. D., and the majority of them were written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Looking to the native places of the different commentators and the places where the Mss. were copied or discovered, it has to be admitted that the influence of the school, even in the most glorious period or its existence, was mostly limited to Northern India : to Gujarát, Nagapur, Udepur, Bikaner, Delhi and Bengal. The school continued in vigour down to the modern revival of Pāṇini under the auspices of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkshita and his pupils, when most schools of grammar began to decline and were driven into the corners of Bengal and other out-lying districts. The Sārasvata school was probably the last to go. These facts when taken in conjunction with the extremely simple and brief manner in which the Sārasvata treats its entire subject—700 sūtras[1] as against the 4,000

1 Seven hundred sūtras—i. e., in the original sūtrapāṭha of the school. This assertion is made on the basis of the Deccan College Ms. no. 239 of 1892–95, which gives 597 *mūlasūtras* plus 91 more *vārtikas* or *vaktavyas*, thus reaching the total of 658. The original order of the sūtras seems to be preserved in this Ms. alone ; other Mss. usually follow the order of Anubhūtisvarūpāchārya in his Sārasvata-prakriyā. Thus in two Mss. of the Deccan College Collection (no. 257 of 1895–98 and no. 210 of A. 1882–83) the total number of sūtras is nearly 890, including some sūtras which occur twice and some vārtikas distinctly given by Anubhūtisvarūpāchārya as such. We have in fact to distinguish clearly between the Sārasvata-mūlasūtrapāṭha and the Sārasvataprakriyā-sūtrapāṭha.

of Pāṇini—render plausible the inference that the Sārasvata school, like the Kātantra, arose in response to a definite demand. This time the demand probably came from the Muhammedan rulers of India who felt it necessary to promote the study of Sanskrit, were it only for the purpose of criticising works written in that language. Thus Gaisuddin Khilgi the peaceful and enlightened ruler of Mālva, Salemshah (1555 to 1556) the emperor who ruled Delhi during Humayun's wanderings, and Jahangir, the Conqueror of the world—all these alike encouraged the study of the Sārasvata grammar as being the one calculated to produce greatest results with the least effort. Indian princes like Udayasing of Udepur (1670 A. D.) also found it easier and less likely to interfere with their usual enjoyments to study this grammar. We shall presently consider the special features to which the Sārasvata owed its popularity amongst the aristocracy; in the meanwhile it may be assumed as very probable that the Muhammedan rule of India is to be credited with having produced the demand which eventually led to the rise of the school of grammar with which we are at present concerned.[1]

74. **Special features of the Sārasvata.**—These special features are not very far to seek; and prominent amongst them is brevity of treatment. When we remember that schools like those of Jainendra and Bopadeva, whose avowed object was to curtail and improve upon Pāṇini as far as practicable, could not conveniently treat of their subject in less than 3000 and 1200 sūtras respectively; or that the school which in current opinion was labelled the short school—Kātantra—has more than 1400 sūtras,

1 It is necessary to emphasise this in order to counteract the tendency to look upon the Islam as a purely destructive force. The instance before us is only one out of many.

it was certainly an achievement for the Sārasvata grammar to compass the whole subject in 700 aphorisms only.

More important than brevity is simplicity ; and in this respect also the Sārasvata compares favourably with its predecessors. The Sārasvata uses pratyāhāras but dispenses with the puzzling *its* so that in its terminology the letters च, ट, त, क, प, for instance, are indicated by the formula चप. This method has the advantage of pointing out at a glance the letters included in the application of a rule, which Pāṇini's चय् fails to do, except to the initiate. The other technicalities adopted by the Sārasvata are of the simplest kind and are such that the meaning is evident from the word itself (सवर्ण, संध्यक्षर etc.), or is established by the concensus of grammarians (तद्धित, आख्यात, सम्प्रसारण, स्वर, व्यञ्जन, उपधा, कृदन्त etc.). Accordingly, the Sārasvata very rarely goes out of its way to explain its Sañjñās and thus, without sacrificing simplicity, gains enormously in economy. The order followed is, of course, the natural or the topical one. The language of the sūtras is easy, and in their interpretation we have not to follow the guidance of any paribhhāshās. No book on paribhāshās has come down to us in connection with this school.

This has been made possible, of course, by a studied avoidance of all difficult and out-of-the-way forms, the object being to learn grammar not for its own sake but as a medium for the study of literature. The Vedic irregularities and accents are left out, as also any detailed consideration of the Uṇādis. Sometimes this process was carried too far and then later it was found necessary to insert vārtikas such as पतिरसमास एव सखिशब्दवद्वक्तव्यः or गवादेरवर्णागमोऽक्षादौ वक्तव्यः or again जरायाः स्वरादौ ज़रस्वा वक्तव्यः, where it was discovered that even some of the commoner forms of words remained unnoticed.

75. Traditional founder of the Sārasvata school.—The person who is credited with the authorship of these vārtikas to the Sārasvata is an ascetic called Anubhūtisvarūpāchārya. Tradition goes further and makes him the direct recipient of the revelation of the sūtras from the Goddess Sarasvatī, after whom the school gets its name. This does not seem to be, however, the right view. We know that Anubhūtisvarūpāchārya gives in his Sārasvata-prakriyā some vārtikas, and this is incompatible with his being the Sūtrakāra, as there was nothing to prevent him from turning his vārtikas into so many sūtras. Secondly, some of the rules which Anubhūtisvarūpāchārya gives in his commentary are absent in other commentaries. Lastly, though this has hardly much bearing on the question before us, Anubūtisvarūpāchārya is the spiritual name of a man about whom we know nothing. On the contrary Kshemendra at the end of his commentary on the Sārasvata-prakriyā has the colophon—इतिश्रीनरेन्द्राचार्यसारस्वते क्षेमेन्द्रकृतं टिप्पनं समाप्तम्—thereby making Narendra the author of the Sārasvata. Again, Amṛitabhārati another commentator has the following :

यन्नरेन्द्रनगरिप्रभाषितं यच्च वैमलसरस्वतीरितम् ।
तन्मयात्र लिखितं तथाधिकं किञ्चिदेव कलितं स्वया धिया ॥

A grammarian Narendrāchārya is also quoted by Viṭṭhalāchārya in his Prakriyākaumudīprasāda. Although as a result of these conflicting facts we are not justified in throwing any doubt upon the historical existence of Anubhūtisvarūpāchārya, still we must admit that he is no more than a name for us, and to set against him we have another—Narendra or Narendrāchārya—who must have written some original work on the Sārasvata, no trace of which has, however, been hitherto discovered. We may observe in passing that such a confusion of names is more likely to occur in the case of modern writers, especially obscure writers; and such we might

assume was the person who, in response to a felt demand, produced the Sārasvatasūtras, and thus made it possible even for the foreign rulers of India to get an insight into Sanskrit literature.

76. The Sārasvata-prakriyā of Anubhūtisvarūpāchārya—From this obscure and almost mythical personage, who could not have lived prior to the establishment of Muhammedan rule in India, our next leap in the history of this school is to Anubūtisvarūpāchārya the author of the Sārasvata-prakriyā. He may have had one or two predecessors in his task. Anyhow when he took up the task, there was probably such a confusion in the order of the Sārasvata-sūtras that he found it necessary to rearrange (ऋजुं कुर्वे) the whole matter for logical presentation.

Anubhūtisvarūpachārya could not have lived earlier than 1250 and later than 1450, when Puñjarāja the earliest of his known commentators lived. When the sūtras once received a stereo-typed form at the hands of Anubhūtisvarūpa, the future history of this school is mainly one of commentaries and sub-commentaries; and the fact that very few of the commentators—and they are over fifteen in the course of about 175 years—make any really original contribution, but confine themselves merely to an explanation more or less accurate, only means that the grammar was meant for practical purposes only. That there should have arisen so many commentators at all is to be explained on the ground that the several local Pandits felt it necessary, in vindication of their scholarship, to write for their patrons fresh commentaries rather than take up those already existing.

77. Commentators on the Sārasvata-prakriyā.—We shall now give short notices of these commentators one by one.

Puñjarāja.—He belonged to the Śrīmāla family of Malabar which some time or other settled in Mālva. He

gives his ancestry in the praśasti at the end of his commentary, from which we learn that he was a minister to Gaisudin Khilji of Mālva (1469–1500). Puñjarāja seems to have carried on the administration very efficiently collecting round him a band of learned admirers, and indulging in numerous acts of charity and relief. He must have lived in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. He also wrote a work on alaṅkāra called Śiśuprabodha, and another larger work called Dhvanipradīpa.[1]

Amṛitabhārati.—As above pointed out, this commentator mentions Narendranagari as an influencial writer on the Sārasvata. Amṛitabhārati was a pupil of Amalasarasvati, and he bears the title परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्य. His commentary is called Subodhikā. Unfortunately all the existing mss. of this commentary contain such a confusion as to the name of the author and of his guru, some stating the work to be that of Viśveśvarābdhi, pupil of Advayasarasvati, others that of Satyaprabodhabhaṭṭāraka, pupil of Brahmasāgaramuni, that it is hard to get at the truth. As the earliest known ms. of this work is dated Saṁvat 1554, the author must have lived about the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The work is said to have been composed at the holy place of Purushottama: क्षेत्रे व्यधायि पुरुषोत्तमसंज्ञकेऽस्मिन् ।

Kshemendra.—We next take this commentator not because he comes chronologically next but because he, like Amṛitabhārati, speaks of Narendra. The only personal information we have of him is that he was the pupil of Krishṇāśrama and the son of Haribhaṭṭa or Haribhadra, a fact sufficient to indicate that he was other than the great Kshemendra of Kāśmīr, who lived a full century before Bopadeva. Kshemendra speaks of some predecessors of his, and he is in turn quoted by Jagannātha, the

1 See Dr. Bhandarkar's Report for 1882-83, p. 12.

author of Sārapradīpikā, and unfavourably criticised by Bhaṭṭa Dhaneśvara who explicitly calls his own commentary क्षेमेन्द्रटिप्पनखंडन. As a ms. of this last work is dated Saṁvat 1653, it clearly follows that Kshemendra could not have lived later than the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

Chandrakīrti.—His commentary is indifferently called Subodhikā or Dīpikā. From the praśasti given at the end of this commentary we learn that the author was a Jain belonging to the Brihad-Gachchha of Nagpur, residing in a Jain Tīrtha called Kauṭika, and 15th in succession from the founder of the Gachchha, Devasūri (Saṁ. 1174). He had a pupil called Harshakīrti who wrote this commentary at first hand, and who himself produced a Dhātupātha and a commentary for the Sārasvata grammar. From the praśasti of this latter work we learn that Chandrakīrti was honoured by Sāhi Salem[1] (A. D. 1545 to 1553) the emperor of Delhi. Chandrakīrti thus belongs to the second quarter of the sixteenth century.

Mādhava.—The son of Kāhnu and pupil of Śrīraṅga. He mentions several commentators before him. If the date of a ms. of his commentary (Saṁ. 1591) is correct, he must be placed earlier than Chandrakīrti.

Vāsudevabhaṭṭa.—He calls himself the pupil of Chaṇḍīśvara and gives[2] the date of his commentary to be Saṁvat 1634. The commentary is called Sārasvataprasāda.

Maṇḍana.—From the colophon at the end of the संधिप्रकरण we learn that Maṇḍana was the Mahā-pradhāna and Saṅghapati to Alpasāhi. His father was named Vāhaḍa

1 Compare— श्रीमत्साहिसलेमभूमिपतिना सम्मानितः सादरम्। सूरिः सर्वकालिन्दि[का]कालितधीः श्रीचन्द्रकीर्तिः प्रभुः॥

2 Compare—संवत्सरे वेदवह्निरसभूमिसमन्विते। शुचौ कृष्णद्वितीयाया प्रसादोऽयं निरूपितः॥

and he belonged to the Kharatara Gachchha. The commentary subsequent to the संधिप्रकरण seems to have been written by one of his pupils. From one of the mss. of the commentary (Deo. Coll. collection, no. 13 of 1877–78) we gather that Alpasāhi or Alam was a king of Mālva, whose minister (amātya) was known as Padama. Vāhaḍa the father of Maṇḍana was a brother to this Padama, and was, besides, himself a Saṅgheśvara or Saṅghapati. Our Maṇḍana accordingly must have inherited his father's office and title. We are not yet certain as to who this Alpasāhi, king of Mālva, was.[1] Probably he was merely some local chieftain. The earliest dated ms. of the commentary belongs to the year 1574 A. D.

Megharatna.—He was a Jain belonging to the Bṛihat-Kharatara Gachchha, and the pupil of Vinayasundara. The commentary is called Sārasvatavyākaraṇadhuṇḍhikā or Sārasvatadīpikā. A ms. of this work is dated Saṁvat 1614 (A. D. 1556), and this gives the lower limit for Megharatna.

Dhaneśvara.—He wrote his commentary with the avowed object of correcting Kshemendra. As a consequence he comes after Kshemendra and before 1595 A. D., when one of the mss. of Dhaneśvara's commentary was copied. He has written, as mentioned in the praśasti of

1 Professor [illegible] Bhandarkar in his Report of a second tour in search of mss. in Rājputāna and Central India (1904-5 and 1905-6) mentions a टिप्पणक on दुर्गसिंहकातन्त्रवृत्तिटीका, which is written in Saṁvat 1369. This टिप्पणक was made during the reign of Alpakhāna who has been identified with the brother-in-law of Sultan Alaudin (Elliot and Dowson, iii. pp. 157 and 208). If this Alpakhāna be the same as our Alpasāhi, Maṇḍana will have to be placed even before Puñjarāja, which however does not appear very likely.

2 He must be distinguished from Bopadeva's preceptor, who was also named Dhaneśvara.

five stanzas at the end of the तद्धित section of the commentary, a Tīkā on the Mahābhāshya called Chintāmaṇi, a new grammar for beginners called Prakriyāmaṇi, and a commentary on a stotra from the Padmapurāṇa.

Jagannātha.—This commentator also quotes and is therefore later than Dhanendra. We know nothing personal about Jagannātha. The commentary bears the name of Sārapradīpikā.

Kāśīnātha.—His commentary is called Sārasvatabhāshya, but is not so diffuse as the name would imply. The author is not communicative about himself and the only thing that can be definitely asserted of him is that he must have lived prior to 1610 A. D., when a ms. (no. 292 of 1880–81) of his commentary was copied down at Barhanpur.

Bhaṭṭa Gopāla.—Is another commentator who can be similarly disposed of by noting that a ms. of his commentary was copied in A. D. 1615.

Sahajakīrti.—It is a relief to come from these shadowy figures to one who is somewhat less chary of giving us information about himself. Sahajakīriti was a Jain, a Vāchanāchāraya and a pupil of Hemanandanagaṇi of the Kharatara Gachchha. The com. is called Sārasvataprakriyāvārtika and was composed[1] in A. D. 1623.

Haṁsavijayagaṇi.—The contribution of this author is very slight, he having been apparently content to write a very diffuse com. called Śabdārthachandrikā on the introductory verses of the Sārasvataprakriyā. He was the pupil of Vijayānanda and flourished about Saṁvat 1708 = A. D. 1650.

1 Compare—वत्सरे भूमिसिद्ध्यङ्गकाश्यपीप्रमितिश्रिते ।
माघस्य शुक्लपञ्चम्यां दिवसे पूर्णतामगात् ॥

Rāmabhaṭṭa.—This author's com. is a curiosity not so much for its subject matter as for the manner of its compilation. The com. is called Vidvatprabodhinī or Rāmbhaṭṭī after the author. At the end of each section of the com. the author gives in one to five stanzas details about himself, his family, his travels, and his literary works, from which we learn i. that the author was an Āndhra coming from the Telaṅgaṇa country, or more definitely, from the regions around the Uraṅgala hills, where ruled in his days a king called Pratāparudra, in whose court was the great pandit called Uddana or Udayana; ii. that the author's father was one Narasiṁha and his mother a very pious lady called Kāmā. Having led a very happy life in his native place and written various literary works—among others, commentaries on the three Kāvyas of the great Kālidāsa—the author in the company of his wife, two sons called Lakshmīdhara and Janārdana, and daughters-in-law starts, at the advanced age of seventy-seven, on a pilgrimage to holy places. During the halts of the journey such leisure moments as the author could command were employed in writing the present commentary. The main interest of the work lies in the record which is kept of the holy places visited on the way. At the conclusion of every section, the incidents of the pilgrimage are versified and written down as a sort of a praśasti, together with a stanza or two in praise of the filial affection and dutifulness of the two sons. Although the diary is not as accurate and detailed as we would wish and the incidents of the journey by no means unusual yet the picture it gives of the real social life some three hundred years ago is by no means void of charm. It is to be regretted that none of the mss. accessible are complete.

In addition to these names there could be mentioned a few others—such as Ratnākara, Nārāyaṇabhārati,

Kshemaṅkara, Mahīdhara, etc.—but we have had already a wearisome list of them, sufficient to indicate the course of development of the school since its origin in the thirteenth century. It is necessary, however, to mention a few more writers who wrote commentaries on the Sārasvata independently of the Sārasvataprakriyā, although none extant is older than that work.

78 Commentaries on the *Sārasvata* independently of the Prakriyā.—The most famous of these, as having given rise to more than one sub-commentaries is the Siddhāntachandrikā by Rāmchandrāśrama. As we possess little information about this author, we at once turn to his commentators. These are i. Lokeśakara, son of Kshemaṅkara and grandson of Rāmakara. He wrote a com. on the Siddhāntachandrikā called Tattvadīpikā in the year चंद्रवेदहयभूमिसंयुते, *i. e.* A. D. 1683. And ii. Sadānanda who wrote a com. called Subodhinī, which has been published at Benares. Rāmachandrāśrama appears also to have written an abridgment of his own com. called Laghu-Siddhāntachandrikā.

Another independent com. on the Sārasvata sūtras is by Tarkatilakabhaṭṭāchārya, the son of Dvārika or Dvarakādāsa and the younger brother of Mohana Madhusūdana. The author points[1] out many interpolations in the works of Anubhūtisvarupāchārya. He wrote his work in 1614 A. D. in the reign of Jahangir.[2]

Siddhāntaratna by Jinendu or Jinaratna is yet another. We know nothing about it or its author. The com. is very short and probably very modern.

One more extensive work on the Sārasvata remains to be mentioned. It was undertaken by a pupil of Bha-

1 With the words—इदं परमहंस-श्रीमदनुभूतिलिखने क्षीरे नीरमिव प्रक्षिप्तम्।

2 Compare–नयनमुनिक्षितिपांके (1672) वर्षे नगरे च टोडाख्ये। वृत्तिरियं संसिद्धा क्षितिमवति श्रीजहांगीरे॥

ṭṭoji Dikshita, Raghunātha by name. It is called Laghubhāshya and aspires to treat of the various grammatical topics after the manner of Patañjali. Raghunātha was a Nāgara, the son of Vināyaka, and belongs, as the pupil of Bhaṭṭoji to the middle of the seventeenth century.

79. **Treatises accessory to the Sārasvata.**—Of accessory treatises in connection with the Sārasvata there are very few. There are no works on Uṇādis or Paribhāshas. A Dhātupātha with a com. on it called Taraṅgiṇī was composed, as stated above, by Harshakīrti, pupil of Chandrakīrti. His date, therefore, is cir. 1560 A. D. A writer called Jñānatilaka has put together all the examples of कृत्, तद्धित, and उणादि affixes based on the Sārasvata chapters dealing with them. A ms. of this work is dated Saṁvat 1704. Another writer named Mādhava has attempted a derivation of words according to the Sārasvata. His date is probably[3] 1680; and these are all, or at any rate, all worth noticing.

As the Sārasvata was meant to be the shortest and the easiest manual of Sanskrit grammar, it would seem that no further abridgments of it were called for. The facts are otherwise. Besides the Laghusiddhāntachandrikā above noticed, an author called Kalyāṇasarasvati has produced बालानां शीघ्रबोधाय a small work called Laghusārasvata. He lived probably towards the close of the 18th century.

80. **General review of the history of the Sārasvata school.**—Taking now a general review of the history of this school it will be perceived that the Sārasvata like the Kātantra, sprang up in response to the felt need of the time, and having once attained a fixity of form, the work continued to be studied in all parts of Northern India by the

3 Compare — रसनागर(१८)सुधभुवना- सिते सौम्ये ह्येकादश्यां गते (?) गुरौ ॥ द्वैपने(?) उत्तरे तथा । ग्रीष्मे ज्येष्ठे

help of the numerous commentaries which came into existence simultaneously and on all sides. Each commentary may be looked upon as having centered within itself the literary longings of the country around its place of nativity. And in later times there were made no attempts to improve or supplement the Sārasvata, simply because the students of the Sārasvata did not wish to be erudite grammarians, considering grammar only as a means to an end. Only one such attempt by a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji has come down to us; but by that time the Kaumudīs and the abridgments of Varadarāja and others had fairly ousted the Sārasvata from the field.

It is an interesting coincidence that when the British rulers of India were first actuated by a desire to acquaint themselves more thoroughly with the literature and the ancient traditions of their subjects through the medium of Sanskrit, one of the earliest and the easiest of anglo-sanskrit grammars that was written was Wilkin's, the basis for which was just this same Sārasvata. At present the school has very little following. Its study is mainly confined to the provinces of Behar and Benares.

The School of Bopadeva

81. **The school of Bopadeva.**—This is a comparatively recent school of grammarians. Consequently there is no tradition of divine revelation attaching to the Mugdhabodha, the chief text-book of the school, but it is accepted as the work of a real human author called Bopadeva.

82. **The date of Bopadeva.**—Bopadeva was the son of a physician named Keśava and his teacher's name was Dhaneśa. Bopadeva's birth-place is said to have been somewhere near the modern Daulatabad in the Mahratta country, then ruled by the Yādavas of Devagiri. Bopadeva is quoted by Mallinātha (cir. 1350) in his commen-

tary on the Kumāra, and he is known[1] to have been the protege of Hemādri, who was a minister (श्रीकरणाधिप) to Mahādeva the Yādava king of Devagiri (1260-1271 A. D.), and to his successor Rāmadeva. Bopadeva's father as well as teacher lived at a place called Sārtha situated on the banks of the Varadā. He was thus a native of the Berars.[2] Although born of Vaidya parents he bears the surname Gosvāmi or high priest. Bopadeva was a scholar of great renown and a voluminous writer. Besides the Mugdhabodha, Kavikalpadruma, and its commentary—the Kāmadhenu—Bopadeva has written the Muktāphala and Harilīlāvivaraṇa (both dealing with the Bhāgavata-purāṇa), a medical work called Sātaślokī, and a treatise on Dharmaśāstra.[3]

83. **The object of Bopadeva's Mugdhabodha.**—We have seen how various attempts were made quite early to improve upon Pāṇini's grammar by making his rules more terse and accurate. Where these attempts were made in the way of vārtikas or commentaries, they increased the student's difficulties rather than simplified them. And where attempts were made to establish a new school independently of Paṇini, the founders were in most cases the followers of some unorthodox church, so that the need of a fresh manual (as distinguished from a mere re-cast of old rules and terms) remained as pressing as ever.

1 Compare—विद्वद्धनेशशिष्येण भिषक्केशवसूनुना॥ हेमाद्रिर्बोपदेवेन मुक्ताफलमचीकरत्॥—from the मुक्ताफल, and श्रीमद्भागवतस्कंधाध्यायार्थादि निरूप्यते। विदुषा बोपदेवेन मंत्रिहेमाद्रितुष्टये॥—from the हरिलीलाविवरण.

2 Dr. Bhandarkar's Early History of the Deccan, p. 89.

3 That Bopadeva did not write the Bhāgavata can be proved from various arguments: amongst others the following quotation (उक्तोऽवधूतमार्गश्च कृष्णेनैवोद्धवं प्रति। श्रीभागवतसंज्ञे हि पुराणे दृश्यते हि सः॥) from the सर्वसिद्धांतसंग्रह (p. 63) of शंकराचार्य, edited (1909) by Rangāchārya, who tries to prove its genuineness.

It was at such a juncture that Bopadeva wrote his Mugdhabodha. His object therein was simplicity coupled with brevity. The first he attained by following the natural mode of presentation such as is found in the Kātantra. For the second, the adopted Pāṇini's pratyāhāra-sūtras—making in them the changes necessary for their adoption to his own system. He omits all notices of accents, and the Vedic peculiarites are dismissed in one (the last) sūtra—बहुलं ब्रह्मणि, corresponding to Pāṇini's oft-repeated बहुलं छन्दसि. Another feature which we notice in this grammar for the first time is its religious element. In the choice of examples illustrating his rules Bopadeva has taken care to use wherever possible the names of Hari Hara, and other gods.[1] Bopadeva is here equally partial to Hari, Hara, or Rāma; but later writers have outdone him in this respect. Even the technical terms of some of these modern grammarians are the names of Krishṇa, Rādhā, Śiva, Durgā, etc. We shall have occasion to revert to these later.

Bopadeva's technical terms often deviate from Pāṇini's.[2] Owing to the absence of all the *its* of the Pāṇinīya system and a slightly varied arrangement of letters, the *pratyāhāras* or rather the *samāhāras* of Bopadeva are quite puzzling to a student of Pāṇini; and since all ancient writers and commentators have followed the Paṇinīya grammar in their writings, this extreme divergence from his system prevented the Mugdabodha from being studied in all parts of India, which its clear and logical method entitled it to be.

1 Thus सवर्णसन्धि is illustrated by मुरारि, लक्ष्मीश, विष्णूत्सव ; the optional forms एनं, एनौ, etc. are shown by—इमं विद्धि हरेर्भक्तं विध्यथैमं शिवार्चकम्। अनेन पूजितः कृष्णोऽथैनेन गिरिशोऽर्चितः॥ an instance of कारक is—रामः प्रत्यगृणात् तस्मै लक्ष्मणोऽन्वगृणात् कपिम्॥ and so on everywhere.

2 For example, घु for धातु वृ for वृद्धि ; शान for शानच्, श्रि for सर्वनामन् etc.

84. Later history of Bopadeva's school.—From what is said just now we are not to conclude that the Mugdhabodha was never widely popular. In the two centuries preceding the rise of the Mahratta power and the revival of Pāṇini it enjoyed a wide currency as well in the land of its origin as elsewhere. This is clear from the statements of Bhaṭṭoji-dikshita in the Śabdakaustubha and in the Manoramā. In the latter he says—

बोपदेवमहाग्राहग्रस्तो वामनदिग्गजः ।
कीर्तेरेव प्रसङ्गेन माधवेन विमोचितः ॥

He is also at great pains to refute the opinions of the author of the Mugdhabodha, which must have dominated the literary world before the advent of Bhāṭṭoji.

It was only in the seventeenth century that like other non-Pāṇiniya systems of grammar this school had to take refuge in a country which was farthest removed from Mahratta influence, that is, Bengal, or rather the neighbourhood of Nadia on both the sides of the Ganges, where it continues to be assiduously studied to the present day.

During the few centuries of its existence the Mugdhabodha has produced quite a bewildering number of digests and commentaries. The most celebrated of the commentaries is that of Rāmatarkavāgīśa, a profound logician and an adept in the grammars of other schools (पाणिन्यादिमतालोचनपरः), upon whose systems he frequently draws to supply errors or omissions in the Mugdhabodha. He is quoted by Durgādāsa (1639 A. D.) who wrote a commentary on the Kavikalpadruma.

Durgādāsa also quotes Rāmānanda, Devidāsa, and Kāśīśvāra and his predecessors, while he is in his turn quoted by Vidyāvāgīśa, Bholānātha, and Rāmabhadranyāyālaṅkāra.

A few more names are given by Aufrecht, but they need not detain us here. Of modern commentaries on the Mugdhabodha there is no end. Most of these are produced in Bengal.

85. Supplements and accessory treatises of the Mugdhabodha.—As the aim of the Mugdhabodha was brevity, it was inevitable that it should have omitted several obscure rules. Accordingly we find three attempts made one after another to supply the defects: by Nandakiśorabhaṭṭa, by Kāśīśvara, and by Rāmatarkavāgīśa. The first of these gives his date—गगननयनकालक्ष्मामिते, that is, A. D. 1398. He was therefore a very early writer. Of other modern attempts we need not speak anything.

As to accessory treatises Bopadeva himself left none, except the Kavikalpadruma, which is a list of roots arranged accordingly to their endings, and a commentary on the same called Kāmadhenu, the chief importance of which for us lies in its numerous quotations. Attempts more or less successful have been since made to give to this school other accessory treatises. Rāmachandravidyābhūshṇa (Śaka 1610) wrote a Paribhāshāvṛitti. Rāmatarkavāgīśa put together an alphabetically arranged Uṇādikośa. And there are other minor works attributed, probably by mistake, to Bopadeva himself.

The Jaumara School

86. The Jaumara school of Kramadīśvara.—The name by which this school is popularly known is a misnomer. It comes from Jumaranandī the most celebrated writer of the school, though we have reason to think that he lived some time after its founder. This was Kramadīśvara styled वादीन्द्रचक्रचूडामणि. Nothing is known of Kramadīśvara's parentage and nativity. His work is called Saṅkshiptasāra, indicating by it that it was an epitome or an abridgment of some larger grammar; and as it could be the

abridgment of no other grammar than Pāṇini's, it is possible that this was the first of its kind, prior to the Prakriyā- and Siddhānta-kaumudīs. Aufrecht in fact makes the school even anterior to Bopadeva, though Colebrooke places it immediately after.

87. Special features of the Jaumara — Kramadiśvara seems to have composed his grammar on the model of Bhartṛihari's Mahābhāshya-dipikā, and he has taken most of his illustrations from the Bhaṭṭikāvya. The work meant as an epitome of the Ashṭādhyāyī is about three-fourths as large as that work. The only changes effected by Kramadiśvara were confined to the rejection of a few superfluous or difficult rules of Pāṇini and the adoption of a different mode of arrangement. The work is divided into seven pādas,[1] the eighth dealing with Prākrit being added later. In the mode of systematising the grammatical material, as also in accuracy and method, the grammars of Bopadeva and others certainly compare favourably with this grammar, which may be due to its being perhaps the first of its kind. Still it is not altogether wanting in correct reasoning, and the erudition displayed by Kramadiśvara is far in advance of that of popular grammarians.

88. Commentaries on the Jaumara.—The Saṅkshiptasāra as it left the hands of Kramadiśvara must have been either incomplete or deficient, and it has undergone a more or less thorough revision at the hands of Jumaranandī who is styled in the mss. महाराजाधिराज. Detractors of the school make much fun of the name Jumaranandī, which they believe belongs to a man of the weaver caste. Jumaranandī's vṛitti is known as Rasavatī and in consequence the school itself bore the name of Rāsavata under which

1 Namely, सन्धि, तिङन्त, कृदन्त, तद्धित, कारक, सुबन्त, and समास.

title it is quoted by Bharata the commentator on the Bhaṭṭikāvya. Jumarnandi's seems to have been the earliest exposition of this system. He has also revised for this school the Pāṇiniya Dhātupāṭha.[1]

Next to Rasavatī, Goyīchandra's commentary deserves a brief mention. Goyīchandra styles himself औत्थासनिक, which may be either a patronymic or some religious or political title the significance of which is lost to us.[2] The best part of Goyīchandra's commentary is that on the fifth or the Kāraka pāda, which along with its able and learned gloss by Abhirāmavidyālaṅkāra is studied even by the students of other schools for the sake of a correct and complete understanding of syntax. Besides this commentary Goyīchandra has also written a work on the Uṇādis, and a list of some 127 paribhāshās.

Goyīchandra's commentary is further commented upon by Nyāyapañchānana, son of Vidyāvinoda, a ms. of which is dated Śaka 1634; by Keśavadeva styled Tarkapañchānanabhaṭṭāchārya;[3] by Chandraśekharavidyālaṅkāra; by Vaṁśīvādana, Harirāma, and many others. Independently of Goyīchandra's gloss there do not seem to be in existence any notable commentaries on the Jaumara grammar. Colebrooke mentions only one by Gopālachakravarti.

89. **Present status of the Jaumara school.**—Next to the Kātantra this grammar has the widest circulation at present in Western Bengal, where it disputes with Mugdhabodha the palm for supremacy. The literary activity of the school—such as it is—is not yet over.

1 Compare ms. no. 196 of Notices, second series, vol. i.

2 Explained as—उत्थापासनं दीयते राजादिभिरिति। अन्यमुद्दिश्य राज्ञा नाभ्युत्थियते। असौ आसनमपि दिशते इत्याधिक्यमस्ति।

3 The commentary is called व्याकरणदुर्घटोद्घाट, and regarding it the author says—गोयीचन्द्रमतं सम्यग्बुद्ध्वा दूषितं तु यत्। अन्यथा विवृतं यद्वा तन्मया प्रकटीकृतम्॥

The Saupadma School

90. The Saupadma school of Padmanābhadatta.—The originator of this school is a Maithila Brahman named Padmanābhadatta, the son of Dāmodaradatta and grandson of Śrīdatta. This Padmanābhadatta is to be distinguished from another writer of the same name, the son of Gaṇeśvara and grandson of Srīpati, who wrote for the school a work called Pṛishodarādivṛitti, which was written, according to the author's own statement, in Śaka 1297 (A. D. 1375). If this date be correct[1] it follows that the other Padmanābhadatta, the founder of the Saupadma school, was either a contemporary or lived very shortly after Ujjvaladatta, whom he mentions as one of his authorities[2] in his lexicon called Bhūriprayoga. His being placed in the last quarter of the fourteenth century does not, at any rate, conflict with any other hitherto ascertained facts.

91. Special features of the Saupadma.—Regarding the work of Padmanābhadatta it is, as he himself states, based upon Pāṇini, some of whose sūtras and technical terms as also his pratyāhāras he has retained verbatim. He has, of course, remodelled[3] a greater part of Pāṇini's rules and arranged them in a somewhat more methodical form, adding a short explanation of his own after each sūtra.[4] His

1 A ms. of the work is no. 228 of Notices, second series, vol. i. The date looks rather suspicious from the fact that in the beginning of the same work the author has attempted to trace his ancestry from Vararuchi, one of the nine gems in the court of Vikramāditya. Needless to say that the attempted genealogy is a failure.

2 Compare—विश्वप्रकाशामरकोषटीका-विभाव्यशेषोज्ज्वलदत्तवृत्तीः । धारावलीमेदिनिकोषगण्यपद्यालोच्य लघ्वी लिखितं मयैतत् ॥

3 Thus Pāṇini's आदिरन्त्येन सहेता is changed into आदिरितान्त्येन समस्यः ।

4 The work consists of five chapters dealing with i. संज्ञा and सन्धि ; ii. कारक and declension; iii. आख्यात ; iv. कृत् and उणादि suffixes ; and v. तद्धित.

treatment of Pāṇini—the fact of his having retained most of the Pāṇinīya terminology—has given the Saupadma an advantage over Bopadeva. Students of the Saupadma have not in their later studies to face the inconvenient necessity of unlearning their own technicalities in order to read the various commentaries and scholia (written to elucidate poems and works of science), most of which use Pāṇini's terminology.

92. **Commentaries on the Saupadma.**—Padmanābha, the founder of the school, has himself written a commentary on his grammar, called the Supadmapañjikā. Several later commentaries are mentioned by Colebrooke, such as those of Kandarpasiddhānta, Kāśīśvara, Śrīdhara-chakravarti, Rāmachandra, etc. The best of the lot is Vishṇumiśra's Supadma-makaranda in twenty sections called drops or 'bindus.'

93. **Treatises accessory to the Saupadma.**—Of accessory treatises to the Saupadma there is also a great number. Works on the Uṇādis, Dhātus, and Paribhāshās were written by the founder himself. At the conclusion of the last work, Paribhāshāvṛitti, the author has given an up-to-date account of his literary activity, which is of considerable value.[1] Regarding his work on the Uṇādis (Uṇādivṛitti) it follows a peculiar plan of arrangement. "The treatise is divided into two chapters, the first containing the suffixes that end in a vowel, and the second those in consonants. They are all arranged alphabetically. The sūtras are Padmanābha's own composition, and in his explanations he usually follows Ujjvaladatta." The paribhāshās of the Saupadma school are some of them word for word Pāṇini's, while others are modelled on that basis. The Dhātupāṭha follows Pāṇini's division into भ्वादि, अदादि etc, and has a com. on it called

1 See India Office Catalogue, Part ii, Ms. no. 890.

Dhātunirṇaya. A Gaṇapāṭha to the Saupadma has been supplied by Kāśiśvara and a com. on it by Ramākānta. There are also minor works on समास and कारक attaching to the school, and a supplement has also later been tacked on to it.

94. Present status of the *Saupadma*.—At present the influence of the school is limited to parts of central Bengal that is, to Jessore, Khulna and Bharatpur in the Twenty-four Paraganas.

Later Sectarian Schools

95. Later *Sectarian Schools*.—We now come to a class of grammarians who have carried to extremes the tendency, already present, as we saw, in Bopadeva, to make grammar the vehicle of religion; and prominent amongst these are the Vaishṇava grammars called Harināmāmṛita.

96. Harināmāmṛita.—There are two works going by this name. The one by Rūpagosvāmin, the companion and disciple of Chaitanya (1484-1527) and the author of several other Vaishṇava works, is perhaps the older of the two. The peculiarity of this work is the employment of various names of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā, and of their acts, not simply by way of illustration but as actual technical terms. Thus the vowels of the pratyāhāra अच् are each designated by the different incarnations of Vishṇu, the theory being—

साङ्केत्यं परिहासं वा स्तोत्रं (?) हेलनमेव ।
वैकुण्ठनामग्रहणमशेषापहरं विदुः ॥

As is to be expected, beyond the introduction of this sectarian element no other improvement on the existing texts of grammar is here to be met with. The whole subject is presented to us in a dull uninteresting manner.

Jīvagosvāmin's Harināmāmṛita varies only slightly from the above. A third Vaishṇava grammar called Chaitanyāmṛita is likewise mentioned by Colebrooke.[1]

Most of these grammars were intended to appeal to a very small community. There are consequently no commentaries or supplements handed down in connection with them. The few that exist do not call for any special mention. These grammars are at present in use among the Vaishṇavas of Bengal.

97. **Prabodhaprakāśa.**—There are reported to have been in existence similar sectarian works of the Śaiva or Śākta schools, of which the Prabodhaprakāśa is one It is uncertain and immaterical as to whether the Vaishṇavas or the Śaivas are to be credited with the invention of this ingenious sectarian device. We may suppose that the beginning having been once made by Bopadeva, who was a हरिहराद्वैतवादी, little remained but to stretch the thing still further.

The author of the Prabodhaprakāśa is Bālarāmapañchānana, probably a Brahman by caste, about whose time and place no information has come down to us. In his works he designated the vowels by Śiva, so that we read in his work of शिवसन्धिपाद, शक्त्यन्तपुल्लिङ्गपाद, शिवान्तस्त्रीलिङ्गपाद, etc. Here is one of his sūtras अमृड्शम्भूनां रुद्रो प्रथमः, which is explained मृड्वर्जशम्भुवर्णानां स्थाने प्रथमवर्णः स्याद्रुद्रे परे। A Dhātuprakāśa is also attributed to this author. It is clear that works which carry things to such an extreme can claim the only merit of doggedly carrying an idea through. It may therefore be excused if no further attempt is made to sketch out the history of such schools, for the simple reason that they have no history.

1. Miscellaneous Essays, vol. ii., p. 48.

Lesser Manuals and School-books

98. **Lesser Manuals and School-books.**—The age of the really original grammarians was long over. It was succeeded by that of able commentators and critics which continued as long as there was the necessity of understanding and correctly interpreting a great author. When even this became a difficult task, there was nothing to be done but the writing of small and smaller manuals adapted to the comprehension of the lay understanding. We have seen how, in most of the schools of grammarians worthy of the name, the declining age of each witnessed a host of such manuals and manuals of manuals. Even this, it would appear, was not enough. Out of the debris of these schools there grew up a spirit of eclecticism, and now we meet with grammatical handbooks which depend upon no system, and were written merely for a select circle of the uninitiated. These mushroom crops disappeared as fast as they were produced. They were not written for posterity. Before we close this essay we shall take up a few typical works of this class.

1. *Prabodhachandrikā*—A work not more than a hundred and fifty years old, being an elementary grammar treating in anushṭubh stanzas of the leading topics of grammar, the illustrative examples being connected with the names of Rāma. The author is supposed to be Vijjala-bhūpati, the son of one Vikrama and Chandrāvatī and belonging to the Chauhāṇa race ruling at Patna. He wrote it for the benefit of his son Hirādhara. A commentary called Subodhinī is written upon it by Gopālagiri doubtless a protege of the prince.

2. *Bhoja-vyākaraṇa by Vinayasundara*—Written for the benefit of a king Bhoja, son of Bhāramalla. This

work, like the above, is metrical in form, following the usual topical arrangement.

3. *Bhāvasiṁhaprakriyā by Bhaṭṭa-vināyaka*—This is another of what we may call 'royal' grammars. It was written for the edification of Bhāvasiṁha the eldest son of a local prince who is styled मेदिनीराट् (Lord of the Earth).

4. *Dīpavyākaraṇa by Chidrūpāśrama*—The author calls himself परमहंसपरिव्राजक. The work is independent of the symbolical and intricate terminology of the older schools, giving short rules in an easy form adapted to the capacities of juvenile students.

5. *Kārikāvali by Nārāyaṇa surnamed Bhaṭṭāchārya-chakravarti*—This elementary grammar was meant originally for the author's son, who in this case has made a grateful return by writing a commentary on the same.

6. *Bālāvabodha by Narahari*—This is the last of these little manuals—each typical of a host of others—that we mention. The work is meant to remove the obstacles in the way of students learning the five mahākāvyas, arising from the circumstance of their not having learnt grammar before. The author assures us that with the help of his work दृढनिर्द्वैधवैयाकरणो भवति. In it words and their forms are taken up in the order in which they are required for the study of the Kāvyas in the order in which they are usually studied.

99. **Conclusion**—We might mention a few more works of a similar kind, bringing the record down to quite recent times, but it would be hardly necessary. These works can by no device be grouped under one school. They merely represent a tendency and as such they do not fall within the province of our essay. Here then we might suppose our account of the different existing *systems* of Sanskrit grammar to have at last attained its natural termination.

APPENDIX I.

(*See note 2 on page 60*)

॥ चान्द्रवर्णसूत्राणि ॥

ॐ विघ्नान्तकाय नमः । ॐ । स्थानकरणप्रयत्नेभ्यो वर्णा जायन्ते ॥ तत्र
स्थानम् । कण्ठः अकुहविसर्जनीयानाम् । कण्ठतालुकम् एदैताम् । कण्ठोष्ठम्
३ ओदौताम् । मूर्धा ऋटुरषाणाम् । दन्ताः ऌतुलसानाम् । नासिका अनुस्वारस्य ॥
स्वस्थानानुनासिकाः ङञणनमाः । तालु इचुयशानाम् । ओष्ठौ उपूपध्मानी-
ययोः । दन्तोष्ठं वकारस्य । जिह्वामूलं जिह्वामूलीयस्य ॥

६ करणम् । जिह्वाग्रं दन्त्यानाम् । जिह्वामध्यं तालव्यानाम् । जिह्वोपाग्रं शिर-
स्यानाम् । शेषाः स्वस्थानकरणाः ॥

प्रयत्नो द्विविधः । आभ्यन्तरो बाह्यश्च ॥ तत्राभ्यन्तरः संवृतत्वं विवृतत्वं
९ स्पृष्टत्वं ईषत्स्पृष्टत्वं च ॥ संवृतत्वं अकारस्य । विवृतं ऊष्मणां स्वराणां
च । तेभ्यो विवृततरं एदोतोः [ऐदौतोः] । ताभ्यामैदौतोः । ताभ्यामप्या-
कारस्य ॥ स्पृष्टत्वं स्पर्शानाम् ॥ ईषत्स्पृष्टत्वं अन्तस्थानाम् ॥ बाह्यः । वर्गाणां
१२ प्रथमद्वितीयाः शषसविसर्जनीयजिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयाश्च विवृतकण्ठा नादा-
नुप्रदाना अघोषाः । प्रथमद्वितीयपञ्चमा अन्तस्थाश्चाल्पप्राणाः । इतरे सर्वे
महाप्राणाः । तृतीयचतुर्थपञ्चमाः सानुस्वारान्तस्थहकाराः संवृतकण्ठनादानु-
१५ प्रदाना घोषवन्तः । द्वितीयचतुर्थाः शषसहाश्चोष्माणः । कादयो मावसानाः
स्पर्शाः । अन्तस्था यरलवाः । इत्येष बाह्यः प्रयत्नः ॥

अत्र चावर्णो ह्रस्वो दीर्घः प्लुत इति त्रिधा भिन्नः प्रत्येकमुदात्तानुदात्त-
१८ स्वरितभेदेन सानुनासिकनिरनुनासिकभेदेन चाष्टादशधा भवति । एवमिवर्णो-
वर्णौ ऋवर्णश्च । ऌवर्णस्य दीर्घा न सन्ति । तेन द्वादशधा भवति ॥ एक-
मात्रिको ह्रस्वः । द्विमात्रिको दीर्घः । त्रिमात्रिकः प्लुतः ॥ उच्चैरुदात्तः । नीचै-
२१ रनुदात्तः । समाहारः स्वरितः ॥ स्वस्थानानुनासिको निरनुनासिकश्च ॥ अन्तस्था
द्विप्रभेदा रेफवर्जिताः सानुनासिका निरनुनासिकाश्चेति ॥

॥ इति चान्द्रवर्णसूत्राणि समाप्तानि ॥

APPENDIX ii.

(See note 2 on page 48)

(See note 2 on page 48)

॥ अथ जोगराजविरचिता पादप्रकरणसङ्गतिः ॥

ॐ नमः शिवाय । ॐ ।

आराध्य षण्मुखमवाप्तवरप्रसादः
कारुण्यपूर्णहृदयः किल शर्ववर्मा ।
लोकस्य मोहतिमिराहतये व्यधत्त
सङ्क्षेपतः प्रकरणत्रितयात्मशास्त्रम् ॥ १ ॥

तत्रादितो व्यधित वर्णपदेषु सन्धिं
तत्रानुनासिकपदं बहुकारकादि ।
आख्यातिकं तदनु साध्यपदं क्रियाख्य-
मेतावतैव हि समन्वयमात्रलाभः ॥ २ ॥

संज्ञाश्च परिभाषाश्च प्रथमे पाद आदिशेत् ।
द्वितीये स्वरसन्धिं च तृतीये तन्निषेधनम् ॥ ३ ॥
वैयञ्जनं चतुर्थे च सन्धिं वैसर्गिकं परे ।
षष्ठे प्रथमवच्चैवं सन्धिप्रकरणं जगौ ॥ ४ ॥

नाम्न आद्ये स्वरान्तस्य लिङ्गस्य स्यादिनिर्णयः ।
स्वरान्तव्यञ्जनान्तस्य द्वितीये युष्मदस्मदोः ॥ ५ ॥

तृतीयेपि त्यदादीनामित्थं नामपदस्थितिः ।
चतुर्थे कारकस्येह विनियोगोथ पञ्चमे ॥ ६ ॥

समासवृत्तिसिद्धस्य तद्धितेष्वपि वर्तनम् ।
षष्ठेथ सप्तमे प्रोक्तलिङ्गात् स्त्रीप्रत्ययात् स्त्रियाम् ॥ ७ ॥

इदं नामपदं सिद्धं सङ्क्षेपात् समुपादिशत् ।
तदन्तन्तमतो वित्तं वाङ्मयस्योपबृंहणम् ॥ ८ ॥

आख्यातेष्वादितः कालपुरुषार्थे नियोजनाः ।
न्यात्युद्देशे(?)द्वितीयेपि सनादिप्रत्ययान्तता ॥ ९ ॥

ततो विकरणा आत्मनेपरस्मैविनिर्णयः ।
तृतीयेभ्यासकार्याणि चतुर्थे सम्प्रसारणम् ॥ १० ॥

आदेशागमलोपादि पञ्चमे तु गुणागुणाः ।
तन्त्रं षाणपदं षष्ठं सप्तमे सेडनिट्कृता ॥ ११ ॥

सङ्करोऽष्टम इत्येवं आख्यातिकपदक्रमः ।
सञ्चिन्तनीयो धात्वर्थकालभेदाद्विचक्षणैः ॥ १२ ॥

यथोसोन्न(?)जयत्येको यः परोपकृतौ रतः ।
योपि धन्यो धनं धत्ते सोत्यन्तं सुखमश्नुते ॥ १३ ॥

कृतस्तव्यादयः सोपपदानुपपदाश्च ये ।
लिङ्गप्रकृतिसिद्ध्यर्थं तान् जगौ शाकटायनः ॥ १४ ॥

तत्राद्यपादे कृत्तन्त्रं पञ्चपाद्यां कृतां(?)विधिः ।
सोपि साधनकालादि विभागेनेति निर्णयः ॥ १५ ॥

स्याद्यन्तात्वात् सुसिद्धत्वात्त तान् सूत्रकृदब्रवीत् ।
दिशान्नर्दादृशद्वाहिषन्सिनिशादुदाहरणम् (?) ॥ १६ ॥

धातोः परे कृतो वुण्तृजादयस्ते च कर्तरि ।
आदौ तव्यादयस्तेषां कृत्यास्ते भावकर्मणोः ॥ १७ ॥

अण्णादयः सोपपदास्ते च कालत्रये मताः ।
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उणादयः स्युर्बहुलं ये ते शास्त्रान्तरे स्थिताः ।
भविष्यतिस्यत्स्यमानक्रियार्थोपपदा मताः ॥ १९ ॥

घञल्क्कारयुकाद्या भावे पुंस्त्रीनपुंसके ।
संज्ञायां प्रासवासादा(?)वकर्तरि च कारके ॥ २० ॥

करणे चाधिकरणे घ्यादिरन्यत्र चेष्यते ।
ज्ञेयो धात्वर्थसम्बन्धे क्वाणंसन्तु(?)विशेषणात् ॥ २१ ॥

कर्तान्यार्थोपदेशोपि ज्ञातापूज्यो मतः सताम् ।
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यद्यप्यन्यानि कार्याणि पादेष्वेषु समासते ।
तथापीयन्ति बाहुल्याभिप्रायेणोदितानि हि ॥ २३ ॥

एवं शास्त्रमिदं सूत्रमात्रेण पठितं सदा ।
तदेति कापि सौभाग्यलक्ष्मीः किं नेति शृण्वताम् ॥ २४ ॥

नाम्नः पादैः कारकस्य स्वरूपं
द्वित्रैराख्यातस्थितैश्च क्रियायाः ।
कान्तैश्चालोच्याभिधानं क्रमेण
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श्रुत्वा साहित्यानि सूक्ष्माण्यथादौ
ज्ञात्वा काव्याकूतवृत्तार्थशब्दान् ।
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काव्याभ्यासे तिष्ठताच्छब्दयत्नः ॥ २६ ॥

वाग्देवी सा सर्वतो भ्राजमाना
पात्रापात्रावेक्षणेन प्रसादान् ।
कुर्वत्यन्तः कस्यचित् स्वाध्ययस्य(?)
स्फीतिं सूतेथेतरस्याप्यशक्तिम् ॥ २७ ॥

....*

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..............पादप्रकरणस्थितिम् ।
पठतां शास्त्रमाभाति करस्थं शार्ववर्मणाम् ॥ ४९ ॥

द्विजराजजोगराजोरचयद्धेदीपनाय शिष्याणाम् ।
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॥ इति जोगराजविरचिता पादप्रकरणसङ्गतिः समाप्ता ॥

* At this place a few unimportant stanzas are omitted.

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U

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Uṇādikośa (to Mugdhabodha) by Rāmatarkavāgīśa 108·22.
Uṇādipāṭha §39, see Uṇādisūtras.
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V

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Vāhaḍa father of Maṇḍana and brother of the minister Padama 99·7.
Vaidya community of Bengal as producing many writers on Kātantra 90·25.
Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa, pupil of Nāgeśa 48·n1; comments upon Śabda-kaustubha 47·23; his works §32, 50·3ff, 55·9; personal details about him 50·5ff.
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Yusufzai valley 19·2; known as Udyāna in the days of Hiuen Tsang 19·3.

ERRATA

Page 1, line 8—*for* calulation *read* calculation.
Page 8, note 1—to the list add [illegible], and [illegible].
Page 8, line 4—*for* commentrary *read* commentary.
Page 27, line 4—*for* early centuries *read* eighth century.
Page 29, line 9—*for* are *read* is.
Page 51, line 1—*for* abridgements *read* abridgments.
Page 60, line 3—*for* gra *read* grams.
Page 65, line 1—*for* 1025 *read* 825.
Page 67, line 2—*for* 750 *read* 1250.
Page 73, note column *b*, line 2—*for* [illegible] *read* [illegible].
Page 100, line 6—*for* Dhanendra *read* Kshemendra.

*** A few more misprints (especially regarding diacritical marks) have unfortunately crept in, but have not been here indicated